Daily Report

Soviet Union

FBIS-SOV-88-138
Tuesday
19 July 1988

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Retired Soviet, U.S. Generals Begin Conference
LD1807200488 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 18 Jul 88

[Text] The second Soviet-U.S. Conference of Retired Generals and Admirals on Disarmament Problems began work in Moscow today. Those taking part will examine topical issues relating to averting the nuclear threat, have conversations with prominent Soviet state, party, military, and public figures, and have a roundtable meeting with leading specialists in the sphere of disarmament. The conference was organized by the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace, and the public group Soviet Generals and Admirals for Peace and Disarmament, set up under its auspices at the end of 1986. Taking part in the conference on the U.S. side will be a delegation from the public organization, the Central for Defense Information, led by its director, Rear Admiral Larocque. The first such conference was held last year in the United States.

Further on Meeting
LD1807221288 Moscow TASS in English 2156 GMT 18 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 18 TASS—The need for new political and military thinking in the area of disarmament is the main theme of the second Soviet-American meeting of retired generals and admirals that opened here today. Its participants stated this at a news conference that was held today at the Soviet Peace Committee.

Retired military from the two countries are to discuss prospects for radical strategic offensive arms reductions, limitation and ending of nuclear testing, deep cuts in conventional forces and armaments. Among the main themes on the agenda are the limitation of the sales of arms to developing countries, reduction of naval forces and limitation of naval activity, as well as confidence-building measures and the problem of glasnost in the military area. The first such meeting of Soviet and American retired military was held in Washington in April 1987.

"We would like to contribute to the deepening of Soviet-American dialogue, for stereotypes of hostility and distrust have been reigning over many years in the traditionally-conservative military area", head of the Soviet delegation, Retired Lieutenant-General Mikhail Milshtein said at the news conference. He presented members of the public group "Soviet Generals and Admirals for Peace and Disarmament" that was formed at the Soviet Peace Committee in 1986.

Retired Rear Admiral Gene Larocque, the founder and director of the U.S. Center for Defense Information told Soviet journalists that the arrival of retired American military in Moscow is another evidence of the growing interest in the USA for the improvement of relations with the Soviet Union. He is of the opinion that confidence-building measures are one of the key aspects of the development of relations between the two countries in the military-political area. Acting in this direction, the center is prepared to help in bringing about the release of more than 300 Soviet servicemen who have been taken prisoner in Afghanistan.

The difference of the approaches of the participants in the Soviet-American meeting to a number of problems was manifested during the debate. "But the striving for a constructive dialogue, for the strengthening of trust between the two countries is stronger than differences," Mikhail Milshtein said. "For just as in the years of the Second World War when Soviet and American soldiers were fighting together against Nazism we now have a no less horrible enemy, the threat of nuclear catastrophe".

Gorbachev Speech on European Disarmament Noted
OW1607062088 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1050 GMT 13 Jul 88

[From "The World Today" program, presented by Aleksandr Zholkver]

[Text] A great deal of material on Comrade Gorbachev's visit to the Polish People's Republic shows that the socialist countries are engaged in solving problems that are common to all of them. However, this material also contains many aspects that are outside the framework of the socialist commonwealth. In the first place, it deals with the question of strengthening peace and security in our common European house. Numerous responses to Mikhail Gorbachev's speech in the Polish Sejm reflect a preoccupation with this question.

Let me remind you that this speech contained proposals directed at resolutely beginning the process of reducing troops and armaments in Europe. What is being discussed here is holding a second, but this time all-European, Reykjavik—a meeting of all the European countries to discuss just one question: How to break the vicious cycle and ensure that something is done about conventional arms reduction in continental Europe, rather than just talking about it.

French President Francois Mitterrand called the proposal interesting, noting that he regards the question of the reduction of conventional weapons as a matter of importance.

The FRG Government's official representative also expressed the hope that talks on the reduction of conventional arms in Europe will begin as early as this year.

However, there is something else that needs to be mentioned: Many NATO leaders, including its new general secretary, the former FRG defense minister Woerner, still stubbornly adhere to old stereotypes—such stereotypes as the military superiority of Warsaw Pact or demanding compensation and modernization for NATO.

However, Comrade Gorbachev's speech in the Sejm contains the elimination of this imbalance between the NATO and the Warsaw Pact military forces as the first step toward reduction of military personnel and armaments in Europe.

There are also those in NATO who are attempting to say that supposedly, the goal of the new Soviet initiatives is to separate Western Europe from the United States. Nothing could be further from the truth: Our country proposes to hold talks on the question of disarmament with both the European countries and the United States.

Let me remind you that on the very first meeting of the just-resumed Soviet- U.S. nuclear and space disarmament talks in Geneva, our delegation made a new constructive step: It introduced a draft protocol on the future strategic offensive weapons reduction agreement. This pertains to the total launch mass of the ICBM, as well as ballistic missiles deployed on submarines. This proposal of ours takes into account the thoughts expressed earlier by the American delegation, and thus creates the necessary basis for reaching agreement on this question. Our delegation in Geneva is expecting constructive proposals in reply from the American side.

'Major Progress' in INF Commission Meeting
LD1507163388 Moscow TASS in English 1617 GMT 15 Jul 88

[Text] Geneva July 15 TASS—The special verification commission, set up in accordance with the Soviet-American Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles, completed its first meeting here today.

The meeting achieved major progress in elaborating measures to facilitate the effective implementation of INF Treaty provisions, a joint statement said.

The commission came to the mutual understanding that the agreed upon provisions related to inspection equipment and methods of its use would be applied on a temporary basis until the sides concluded a memorandum on the agreement regarding the application of treaty provisions on verification.

The sides expressed their resolve to complete in the near future work on measures on which no agreement had as yet been reached.

The next meeting of the commission can be held at the request of either side.

Kondratyev Views FRG Positions on Arms Control
LD1807191888 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1400 GMT 17 Jul 88

[V. Kondratyev commentary from the "International Panorama" program]

[Text] New FRG Defense Minister Rupert Scholz has given an interview to DER SPIEGEL correspondents. Question: Mr Scholz, what are you in fact—a hawk or a dove?

Scholz: Rather a duck, because this is the only bird which has the qualities of all three forces: It can fly, travel overland, and swim.

DER SPIEGEL: A fattening goose would be even more appropriate. Money is positively stuffed down the throat of the Bundeswehr. The defense budget for 1989 is to grow by DM2 billion. It is proposed to save 1.8 million from the unemployed.

This is the beginning of the conversation. You can't deny DER SPIEGEL its resourcefulness and wit. This verbal altercation contains an echo of the differences between the partners in the government coalition in Bonn—the CDU-CSU [Christian Democratic Union-Christian Social Union] and the Free Democrats. [video shows cuttings from the journal]

There are calls to curb the appetite of the military issue from the ranks of the FDP [Free Democratic Paty]: Genscher's party considers that DM250 million over and above the preceding budget is quite adequate for them. But Scholz and those who think like him in the ranks of the conservatives say firmly: No. But how can such intransigence be explained to the public? A not very original method, but one that has been tried and tested over the course of decades, is set in motion. One musn't confuse one's desires with reality, warn the West German ducks with their hawkish tricks. The Warsaw Pact, in spite of all their peaceloving statements, continues to build up its power in conventional weapons, and have an obligation to be on our guard. Is it, therefore, any surprise that the new proposals which came out of Warsaw are coming up against a massive wall of reluctance to seek a reasonable compromise?

Europe—read Western Europe—expects action from the Kremlin boss. This is how DIE WELT explains NATO's restrained reaction to the Soviet initiatives. This has to be understood in the following way: Our country must begin disarming unilaterally. The asymmetries we acknowledge in certain types of armaments is presented by the FRG as virtually agreement on the part of Moscow with Western evaluations. To listen to Scholz, you'd think the West had no superiority in anything. So let the Soviet Union bring its numbers of troops and weapons to the level of NATO; moreover, this should proceed from the balance of forces as it is imagined here, and then we can think about mutual reductions. Moreover, they have in mind only central Europe. They don't even want to touch NATO's naval superiority on the continent, France's and Spain's potential, or the situation on Europe's southern flank.

You get a sort of Gordian knot, which to untie—or rather, to keep more precisely to the mythology, to cut—you need bold, original approaches, like those which were shown at the Soviet-U.S. meeting in Reykjavik.

When the Soviet leader, in Warsaw, proposed convening an all-European summit meeting, to add momentum to the East-West talks in the field of conventional weapons, a lot of fuss was kicked up in the FRG: Moscow wants to split Western Europe from the United States and Canada; this meeting is superfluous, since it is to replace the Vienna forum; this is another of the Kremlin's propaganda tricks, and so on. With time, when explanations ensued from the Soviet side that this wasn't the case at all, the hotheads cooled down a bit.

The most consistent position among the Bonn leaders on this issue is taken by Foreign Minister Genscher. His points of emphasis are quite different from those of the defense minister. Genscher thinks that the Soviet Union has a sincere interest in progress in the disarmament field. The politician, who more than anyone else on the Rhine has accumulated experience in the Soviet-West German dialogue, is aware of the extent to which the thinking and manner of action of the Soviet leadership have changed. He constantly urges that we be believed, and he supports the process of restructuring.

Genscher is, of course, a very influential figure, but he isn't the only one to determine the course of Bonn's ship of state. The chancellor has not as yet expressed his opinion. In the words of his spokesman, he doesn't want to shoot from the hip. The Warsaw Treaty proposals have to carefully studied. The chancellor is moved to caution by the constant differences with his partner in the coalition, which reach the level of conversations about the expediency of continuing the ruling alliance in future. The FDP, the Social Democrats, and the Greens have on the whole received the Warsaw ideas positively and cordially, and the chancellor certainly doesn't need another trial of strength for the dislocation of forces present in the Bundestag. [video shows Scholz inspecting military exercises, various FRG tanks, troops and aircraft, more newspaper cuttings, Genscher speaking, Kohl, CDU meeting]

The Christian Democrats's position in the country has never been so shaky in recent years. The credit of trust among the electorate, which was granted to the main ruling party for its eventually constructive role in achieving the Washington accord, could be quickly expended if the CDU again gets stuck in the rut of the preconceptions and prejudices of the old thinking.

U.S. Inspectors Visit Sverdlovsk Plant

LD1807181488 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 18 Jul 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] In accordance with the U.S.-USSR Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, signed in Washington on 8 December 1987, an inspection group of U.S. experts stayed in Sverdlovsk on 16 and 17 July. Correspondent E. Erkomayshvili reports:

[Erkomayshvili] Representatives from the scientific and production association works of the Kalinin scientific engineering plant met the U.S. inspection group at Koltsovo Airport. The experimental works figures in the memorandum to the treaty as a facility for the assembly of RK-55 launchers, the production of which is to be terminated. Welcoming the group, (Moiseyev), the works director, expressed his readiness to render all help required in their responsible work. Working premises have been made available for the U.S. inspectors. A group of specialists from the works accompanied the group on their tour of the enterprise.

[Begin recording] [Krayniy, identified by caption as E.I. Krayniy, engineer] The U.S. inspectors carried out an inspection of the territory and the installations of the experimental works, and they established that production of the RK-55 launchers had been stopped at the enterprise. Thus, all conditions of the treaty have been complied with. After completion of their work, we signed a relevant protocol.

[Nelson, identified by caption as Paul Nelson, head of the U.S. inspection group, speaking in English fading into Russian translation] I am pleased to be here today, to have inspected the Sverdlovsk launcher production facility, and with the work of the group in carrying out their mission. It gives us pleasure to see that our professional ties with the USSR are developing. We hope to continue cooperating, and we look forward to working together in the future. [end recording]

U.S. Military Inspectors Arrive in GDR

LD1807164688 Moscow TASS in English 1605 GMT 18 Jul 88

[Text] Berlin July 18 TASS—Two groups of U.S. military inspectors have arrived in the German Democratic Republic, ADN news agency reported.

The 20 inspectors will visit missile bases in the GDR where they are going to verify the realization of the Soviet-American INF Treaty.

In keeping with an agreement with the German Democratic Republic and Czechoslovakia, the Soviet Union, demonstrating a gesture of good will, has begun unilaterally withdrawing its missiles even before the treaty's ratification and been scrupulously honoring its commitments.

The U.S. inspectors were welcomed at Leipzig Airport by representatives of the GDR Foreign Ministry, the National People's Army and the Soviet Army.

'Top Priority' Assesses Arms Proposals

LD1707003888 Moscow in English to North America 2300 GMT 15 Jul 88

["Top Priority" program, presented by Vladimir Pozner with Professors Radomir Bogdanov and Sergey Plekhanov of the USA and Canada Studies Institute]

[Text] [Pozner] How do you do, ladies and gentlemen. This is Vladimir Pozner presenting "Top Priority." With

me on the panel, as usual, are Professors Radomir Bogdanov and Sergey Plekhanov of Moscow's USA and Canada Studies Institute.

It's a pleasure to be back after having been busy elsewhere doing other things, but things that were connected with what "Top Priority" has been covering and, that is to say, the 19th party conference.

[Bogdanov] Maybe, Vladimir, you would be kind enough to inform us what you were doing and our listeners, too, because they might be little bit, you know, uneasy about your disappearance for such a long time.

[Pozner] Well, very briefly, I was also working on the coverage of the 19th party conference and, in particular, I was doing some work for foreign broadcasting services, the BBC, some for CBS, and, of course, for Soviet television as well, which is why I could not, much as I regret this, partake in...

[Bogdanov, interrupting] We regret it, too.

[Pozner] Yes, I know you do. Now, if I recall correctly, most of what you've been talking about pertaining to the party congress, party conference, concerns domestic policy. You did not dwell in any great detail, as I understand, on the foreign policy aspects of Mikhail Gorbachev's speech, and I think that perhaps today, very briefly, you might point out what you consider to be the most important aspects of that particular area of what he touched upon, for our listeners' sake.

[Bogdanov] Well, I believe that the most important foreign part of his speech is again a new thinking, and I believe that in his speech, he formulated more precisely, more concretely what he meant by new thinking, and he quoted some hard core examples of the new thinking. For instance, our withdrawing from Afghanistan, er, INF Treaty, some other approaches to the very difficult foreign policy problems. And new thinking is kind of a spirit of compromise when you look not only at your interests but you have tried to find out a common interest and to base your foreign policy on the, on the ground of the common interest, mutual interest. And i believe that that part of the new thinking is the most important part because if you have that tool in your hands, trying to deal with the most complicated, most sophisticated problems of the foreign policy, that is, to look at that from the point of view of common interest, you can always find out a very, very (?efficient) solution.

[Pozner] Dr Plekhanov, do you want to add anything to that? Is there anything that strikes you as being of particular interest to our listeners?

[Plekhanov] Well, there was an interesting thought about extending glasnost further, especially in the area of foreign policy and military policies, and recognition that the more glasnost in those areas, the more international trust and the easier the problem of working out mutual solutions. There was also, I think, a very important point about perestroyka being, having its logical results for foreign policy because if a nation is so deeply involved in the process of restructuring its domestic institutions, its economic life and so on, such a nation is naturally interested in arms reduction and greater international cooperation. And in that sense, what we are doing in the Soviet Union is responding to a kind of a global challenge which is facing every other nation, because the importance of domestic problems and the need to address those problems in a new way, in line with the new realities of this world, I think, is a fact of life. It's facing America, er, Paul Kennedy, who wrote a famous book on the rise and fall of the great powers, put it quite succintly when he said that America needs a perestroyka of its own.

[Pozner] Tell me, when you speak about glasnost in foreign relations, would you consider it to be part of that view what the general secretary recently proposed in Poland, speaking about conventional weapons, conventional arms in Europe and calling for a detailed exchange of information on account of what the NATO forces and what the Warsaw Pact forces have? Would you rank that with being part of glasnost in foreign relations?

[Bogdanov] I believe it's, this is very explicit expression of glasnost. Mind you, Vladimir, we have a number of quarrels with the other side about the superiority, the so-called Soviet superiority in conventional arms. We call that imbalances, disparities and assymetries, and we suggest to the other side, to NATO countries, to sit down around the table and to exchange data, to make it public. Let's first find out what are the asymmetries. Isn't it not a glasnost? It is exactly. You make it public in the sense that you give data to the other side, the other side gives you their own data, you compare notes and you say, okay, we agree on this, we don't agree with that, and so on....

[Plekhanov, interrupting] [Words indistinct]. There's also to be a verification regime for that, I mean, there are questions about data, you know, you can send inspectors on-site inspections.

[Bogdanov] Yeah, yeah, on site. You, for instance, you say that there are three divisions, three divisions located in this area, three divisions of say 8,000 or 12,000 or 16,000 if you are talking about American division or Soviet division, and you have a right to send on-site inspection to check it up. It's not that you base your calculations on the word, you base it on very hard core, yeah...

[Pozner, interrupting] Yes, of course, trust but verify it, yes of course...

[Bogdanov] Trust, but verify it. Now, now my problem is, for instance, you know, that general secretary offered in Poland a very comprehensive plan how to deal with conventional weapons, three stage, three-stages plan, and the first stage is the glasnost stage; i call it a glasnost stage what we have been talking about. My problem is that I,

frankly I cannot understand why the other side does not accept that suggestion. We've been offering them to exchange notes for maybe a year or so but no answer. My reading of that situation is that actually there is no Soviet superiority; that's why the other side is, cannot just accept exchanging notes. If they exchange notes, people, it will make, it will be public that there is no Soviet superiority. That's one theory. And the other theory is that they are just preparing for some, maybe for something to count themselves, what they have, what they don't have.

[Pozner] When you speak about the proposals that the general secretary made in Poland, and this followed by the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact, which we will deal with in greater detail next time, all of these have followed hard on the heels of the 19th party conference and on what he had to say about foreign policy, so that it might be said that these events are an illustration, up to a point at least, an illustration of what he was talking about and of new thinking as we understand it, and of the foreign policy objectives of the Soviet Union. I don't think it would be true to say that this interest in settling the situation in Europe is a new one. If you look at the proposal that was made by the general secretary in January of 1986, you find again very much what he said today, although today perhaps for the Western countries the proposal is based on concrete progress that has occurred since 1986. However, the question I'd like to ask you is this: Number one, NATO seems to have reacted almost in a knee-jerk reflex kind of way saying no, they don't like the idea. Why? Why do you think NATO reacts this way?

That is question number one, and question number two: There seems to be in the Western press a view that the idea of having a European summit would only make things more difficult because there would be so many different countries involved, and there are 16 Western European countries and a great number of East European countries, and to put them all together would create greater problems and so on. So even that would seem to be negatively reacted to. Why? What do you think is really the reason?

[Plekhanov] Well, I think the...

[Pozner, interrupting] Professor Plekhanov, yes.

[Plekhanov, continuing] ...chief reason is bureaucratic inertia in NATO. NATO is a huge bureaucracy, and it's based on a certain idea, and that idea is irreconcilable differences between East and West, the existence of the two military blocs. And those people who are interested in keeping those blocs intact are certainly uneasy about any proposals that would lead to dissolution of the blocs, to the lowering of the military levels of armaments in Europe, and so on. I think there is a very substantial degree of dogmatism in the thinking in NATO circles, and I'm not talking about NATO countries because within the countries, there's a lot of new thinking about that, there's a lot of impatience with those ossified structures, or petrified structures of the cold war which are still there despite all odds. But there are people who are manning those structures who derive their position and status and their well being from the existence of those things and also there are, you see, there's a tradition, the Atlantic tradition, in Western Europe, namely, the tradition to look for European security to the United States as the protector of Western Europe, quote, unquote.

[Bogdanov] But I believe, Sergey, that that has been changing a little bit.

[Plekhanov] Yeah, it has certainly.

[Bogdanov] But basically, basically, I agree with you basically, but at the same time, let me be more benign to NATO in the sense that don't you think that now they have a change in the position of the general secretary of the NATO, there is a new general secretary who is going to take up, now you have American elections, you have to wait maybe a little bit until all these political processes are over, then NATO will be, I hope, will be able to get together in the new environment, political environment with new figures which will be staying in power for another at least 4 years, then they will be ready, will be getting down to business and trying to answer our proposals. And I believe Vladimir, just to be more objective to NATO, I, as you can imagine I'm not admirer of NATO, but...[chuckles]

[Pozner, interrupting] I don't know why I would imagine that!

[Bogdanov] Yeah, but I would like to be little bit more objective. NATO has been reacting to Warsaw Pact proposals but very very slowly. And of course, we would like to enhance their, make more real their activity, but I understand their difficulties. They have a very rich menu on the table with very major proposals, and maybe it is just difficult for them to react to those proposals in a prompt way.

[Pozner] How do you feel about the journalistic view that some have presented, or argued and that is that a summit in Europe would only really complicate things rather than make them more simple? How do you feel about that, and why would anyone advance such a veiwpoint?

[Bogdanov] Isn't it the case, Sergey, when we should remind Helsinki meeting, Helsinki meeting, Helsinki meeting?

[Plekhanov] Sure it's a precedent, yeah. Isn't it a precedent when such a huge, huge thing removed that to be [as heard] very successful and which is a Helsinki Act which is very much in force, which is very much in the picture in Europe, so I would not, I would not buy, buy, I would not buy those arguments.

[Pozner] Yeah, the argument, basically as I understand it is that the 16 West European countries involved have very different interests even in the military area, and it's very difficult for them to agree on anything in general, let alone at a summit. I must say that very often they seem to disagree on saying no to Soviet proposals, all 16 as if they were one, so I don't see why they couldn't agree on something. [sentence as heard] But do you think that that argument holds water, that their own military interests make it very difficult for them to come together in a summit meeting with the East European countries and decide on some kind of major agreement on conventional weapons?

[Plekhanov] Well, I think that such a summit, the idea of such a summit, the idea of a joint East-West European approach to the matters of security is designed to provide a new framework for all problems of European security, and within that new framework, the 16 Western European countries may find it easier to agree on problems because that happens when you look at things in a broader light. You know, when we look at Afghanistan in a broader light it became easier for us to decide on a speedy withdrawal, and that's just one of the countless illustrations that if you provide a new framework, things, day-to-day business, may become easier to proceed with. So, I think that the summit is a better idea than the Western Europeans have so far given credit for.

[Pozner] Do you think that Soviet-American relations can really improve and really progress without some solution of the European situation?

[Bogdanov] Well, I believe that some solution of European situation would very much contribute into improvement, further improvement of the Soviet-American relations. That much I can say.

[Pozner] What do you think?

[Plekhanov] Well, I think that European progress in Europe, some sort of a detente in Europe will...

[Pozner, interrupting] ...in the area of conventional weapons.

[Pozner] In the area of conventional weapons is a necessary element.

[Bogdanov] But let me, let me add something to that. I believe that Europe is becoming a factor, very independent factor by itself which should not be taken as a very small part of the equation.

[Pozner] I don't think anyone does take it that way.'

[Bogdanov] Yes, this is a very major factor in the whole international situation, not in the Soviet-American relations.

[Pozner] A final question, what with time running out, do you think that this idea of a European summit on conventional weapons is actually a feasible proposal and one that will occur in the foreseeable future, if you're gonna forecast? Do you think that in not too long a time we may be discussing that sumit as it occurs?

[Plekhanov] Well, it's hard to say, I would say that much depends on the political situation in the West. There is an election in the United States, there will be some political shifts in Western Europe and that is one of the factors which might move things ahead in this area. It's really hard to say. I hope that such a summit will take place.

[Bogdanov] I also hope because that was the usual Western policy to face the Soviet Union unanimously, not one by one [chuckles], that makes me believe that they will accept that, they will talk about conventional...

[Pozner, interrupting] And I think we could probably all agree that one of the reasons this type of summit is a possibility is precisely because of new thinking on the part of Soviet leadership in foreign relations. Don't you think that without that new thinking probably there would be no possibility of any progress?

[Bogdanov] It goes without saying, it goes without saying, and if I were in their shoes I would just try that, why not?

[Plekhanov] No harm done.

[Bogdanov] No harm done.

[Pozner] Alright. I want to thank you both for participating today and next time "Top Priority" we will discuss the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact forces, so on behalf of "Top Priority" this Vladimir Pozner wishing you all good listening until next week.

Further Reportage on Warsaw Pact Meeting

News Conference Held

LD1807114888 Moscow TASS in English 1128 GMT 18 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 18 TASS—The main idea of the document on problems of ecological security adopted by a meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member states consists in pooling the efforts on the global and European scope for the purpose of preserving the natural enviroment and protecting it from harmful impact, Ivan Aboymov has stated. The deputy minister of foreign affairs of the USSR spoke at a press conference here today on the results of the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member states held on July 15 through 16.

This is the first document of this scope that sets forth the stand of socialist countries on problems of ecological security, Aboymov pointed out. It contains a proposal of the Warsaw Treaty countries to work out a concept of international ecological security and to agree on principles of cooperation of countries in the ecological sphere.

"It is necessary not only to stop the unfavourable development of ecological processes, but also to create a mechanism that would not permit in the future to take steps that would be harmful from the ecological point of view," Boris Mayorski, acting head of the department for a peaceful use of nuclear energy and space, another participant in the press conference, said in a TASS interview. "This could be done with the help of an international legal document that the Warsaw Treaty member countries proposed to develop."

Boris Mayorski pointed out that the problem of ecological security was a sphere which is obviously suitable for fruitful international cooperation. "The experience of the past several years showed that ecological problems cannot be resolved on a national and even regional scope. They are of a truly worldwide scope. Apart from it, they are extremely complicated and in many aspects very dangerous by their consequences. The problem boils down to the following: In what kind of a world shall we live, and what kind of a world shall we leave to our descendants?" he said.

Aboymov Cited

LD1807182288 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 18 Jul 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] A news conference was held at the USSR Foreign Ministry Press Center today, devoted to the results of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee Conference, which was held in Warsaw.

It was noted at the conference that the socialist countries are united in the conviction that the world stands at a turning point in its development. Such a situation has now been achieved of which it can be said with conviction that, although not all negative factors have yet been overcome, the process of gradually reducing confrontation has begun. Speaking of the new peace-loving initiatives of the Warsaw Pact states, USSR Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Comrade Aboymov said in part:

[Begin Aboymov recording] I would like to draw your attention to the statement adopted in Warsaw on talks on cutting armed forces and conventional weapons in Europe. It develops and makes concrete the joint program which was elaborated by the participating states of the Warsaw Pact in Budapest in 1986 and supplemented a year ago in Berlin. This is not simply an appeal to all European states to begin reducing the level of military confrontation throughout the territory from the Atlantic to the Urals, it is a specific notion, a specific approach on the part of the allied socialist countries on how the process of negotiations on problems relating to disarmament on an all-European scale should be pursued.

If we are to assess the actual feasibility of the goals which have been set in the statement, then it can be said that on condition that goodwill, a sense of responsibility, and realism on both sides is present, these tasks could be addressed in a minimum period of time—1-2 years—and on the basis of the accords attained there could be progress to further substantial cuts in forces and armaments on a reciprocal basis.

The allied socialist coutries approach the resolution of the undoubtedly difficult problem of cutting armed forces and conventional weapons in Europe from a position of optimism, and they urge the NATO countries to show just such a constructive approach. [end recording]

Those taking part in the news conference replied to questions put by journalists. [video shows conference; Aboymov in center of platform, G. Gerasimov to his left and V. Karpov to his right; to the left of Gerasimov is Major General Yu.A Markelov; and to the right of Karpov is another unidentified man in uniform]

Karpov on Arms Proposal

LD1807131688 Moscow TASS in English 1242 GMT 18 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 18 TASS—A proposal of the Warsaw Treaty member countries dealing with the exchange of information and control contains a new specific feature: It provides for an opportunity to exchange information on the armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe before an agreement on their limitation is concluded, Viktor Karpov said today. The head of the department on problems of the arms limitation and disarmament of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs

spoke at a press conference here today on the results of the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member states.

"Socialist countries regard this approach as a guarantee that the sad experience of the Vienna talks on Central Europe will not be repeated. Discussions on the initial data have been going on there for about 14 years without any possibility of checking them", Viktor Karpov said, among other things. He pointed out further that an early exchange of information would permit participants in the talks to move more purposefully towards the preparation of the agreement.

The Soviet expert said that today some 60-70 percent of the delivery vehicles possessed by the Warsaw Treaty and NATO countries can carry both conventional and nuclear warheads. "We heeded the opinion of NATO countries which believe that nuclear warheads should not be included in the mandate of the talks. On our part, we voiced the readiness to formulate in a mutually acceptable way a provision to the effect that delivery vehicles themselves should be included in the mandate of the talks irrespective of whether they have nuclear or conventional warheads", he said.

Answering the question on progress in the fulfilment of reciprocal inspections within the framework of the Soviet-American INF Treaty, Viktor Karpov pointed out that in the USSR they had been already held in the European and Asian parts of the country, in the Far East and in the area of Novosibirsk. A total of 117 inspections will be held on Soviet territory from July 1 to September 1. The number of inspections is equal to that of the facilities which are subject to control.

Boris Mayorski, acting head of the department for a peaceful use of nuclear energy and space of the USSR Foreign Ministry, said that another transport plane was to arrive in Moscow today. It will bring measuring instruments which will be further transported to a test site in Semipalatinsk. "A preparation of the Soviet-American experiment on monitoring underground nuclear tests is going on according to the schedule", Mayorski said.

Touching upon a regular round of the Geneva talks on the reduction of strategic offensive armaments started on July 12, Viktor Karpov told journalists that the Soviet delegation had started it at a "good working pace and submitted already a draft propocol on the limitation of missiles' throw weight".

Joint Troop Exercises To Be Held in GDR

LD1807161788 Moscow TASS in English 1603 GMT 18 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 18 TASS—A joint troop exercise of the body of Soviet troops in Germany and the National People's Army of the German Democratic Republic will be held in the territory of the GDR on July 24-30 in the area of Brandenburg, Moeckern, Essen, Peitz, and Eisenhuettenstadt, and Luckenwald on agreement with the Government of the GDR with a view to polishing field training of troops.

The exercise will involve formations and units of land forces and the Air Force. The aggregate numer of troops to participate in the exercise will be 18,000.

In accordance with the document of the Stockholm conference, the Government of the GDR invited observers from all the states which participated in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe to attend the exercise.

Ryzhkov Discusses CEMA Session, Other Issues

AU1407123288 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 8 Jul 88 pp 1,2

[Interview with Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and CPSU Central Committee Politburo member, by RUDE PRAVO chief editor Zdenek Horeni, in Prague: "There Is Greater Potential in Our Relations; Interview With Comrade Nikolay Ryzhkov on the CEMA Session, the 19th CPSU Conference, Economic Reform, and Czechoslovak-Soviet Cooperation"; date not given—first paragraph is RUDE PRAVO introduction]

[Text] Comrade Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, gave an interview to RUDE PRAVO chief editor Zdenek Horeni on the occasion of his visit to Czechoslovakia.

[Horeni] How do you assess the results of the Prague CEMA session and what do you regard as being most important for the further deepening of cooperation?

[Ryzhkov] The main result of the 44th CEMA meeting is that the Council's member-countries not only reaffirmed their resolve to consistently follow the path of radical renewal of the existing system of mutual cooperation, but at the same time adopted important decisions expanding the opportunities to utilize new forms of cooperation corresponding to the demands of the time. The Soviet delegation, and as can be seen, not only the Soviet delegation, is of the opinion that this is in harmony with the creative atmosphere at the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference. Such an approach to the current problems creates the conviction that the process of deepening mutual relations among the fraternal states will follow an upward trend. In this way one also will put into practice agreements which were arrived at at the working meeting of leading representatives of the communist and workers parties of the CEMA member-countries in November 1986. And this means that our mutual cooperation will become the driving factor for the intensification of social production and for raising the people's standard of living.

Of course, documents and decisions, no matter how good, will not work automatically, they cannot ensure the transition to the new model of the international socialist division of labor. The pace and extent of our advance, the realization of what has been determined, will depend on the purposeful and systematic work of all CEMA members on principles of voluntarism, on how economic and organizational conditions will develop in a given country, and on their energetic collective efforts.

[Horeni] The principle of CEMA is voluntarism. Would it not be a good idea to modify it in the future in such a way so as to make adopted decisions binding, like in the EEC?

[Ryzhkov] The principles of absolute equality, of respecting national interests and state sovereignty, which provide the basis for CEMA's work, are an expression of truly democratic principles. Each country decides for itself in which of the joint measures agreed within our collective organization it will participate and in which it will not. Nothing is imposed on anyone, nobody is forced to do anything against his will.

We believe that also the united market in friendly cooperation will political and ideological conditions and prerequisites. [sentence as published] Because of mutual differences there will be those who will make faster progress, and others slower progress.

But this voluntary nature does not mean that CEMA resolutions and agreements arrived at within its bodies are not mandatory. Once the individual countries adopt them, they have the duty to ensure the implementation of joint decisions. It must be said that that the implementation of these decisions is not always precisely monitored by the Council.

Perhaps it would be in our common interest to consider a more precise enshrinement of duties in CEMA documents and concluded agreements, and improve the monitoring of how they are being implemented. One cannot exclude the possibility that even the experience of the EEC will come in handy to us to a certain extent. We have to study it.

Now that CEMA and the EEC have established official relations, new possibilities have cropped up for the exchange of experience between the two organizations.

[Horeni] You discussed with the Czechoslovak partners the first experience from the setting up of joint ventures and the development of direct relations between production organizations. What, in your opinion, must be done to ensure that these new elements in our cooperation outgrow their "diapers" as soon as possible?

[Ryzhkov] During the meeting with Comrade L. Strougal we discussed issues connected with new forms of cooperation between our countries' enterprises and organizations. A movement in that direction has already begun. Among other things, the question of using national currencies when settling accounts between enterprises of our countries within the framework of direct relations was resolved. A system for determining contractual prices for cooperation deliveries was approved. Agreements in this respect were signed. Work is going on on fixing justifiable, realistic [realne] exchange rates for national currencies, on converging the legal and organizational conditions in our countries, and on founding a joint bank to finance the new forms of cooperation.

Of course, the radical economic changes that are being carried out in the USSR and the CSSR, and among other things also the possibility of enterprises to handle their production more freely, plays an important role in this work.

My opinion is that as these tasks continue to be solved, conditions will come into being which will make it possible for the new forms of our cooperation to outgrow their infancy.

[Horeni] The Prague CEMA session is being held shortly after the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference. Of what importance is this conference to the party and the whole of Soviet society?

[Ryzhkov] The ongoing restructuring process in our country reaffirms that the period of revolutionary changes has led to rapidly maturing social consciousness; developments which formerly took years nowadays occur in a short span of time.

The 19th party conference concluded an important stage of radical changes that are being carried out within the framework of restructuring. It has become a new milestone in our country's further development. It demonstrated with new vigor that there is no alternative to the chosen road, and that it has become the accelerator for the further progress of our society.

The decisions of the conference have determined the objectives of and paths for restructuring all spheres of the country's life and for reforming the political system.

Under conditions of complex and all-encompassing changes determining the future of the construction of socialism, a fundamental road was found for the further democratization of all aspects of the Soviet society's life, for the full revelation of the humanistic and creative potential of socialism.

On this foundation we are renewing the content of the party's work, on this foundation is growing its role as political vanguard, while, at the same time, involving broad masses in active construction work and consistently introducing the Leninist ideas of people's power into life. The party conference has become a stage in the realization of revolutionary restructuring, and in the implementation of the innovative course of the April

session of the CPSU Central Committee and the 27th party congress in the sphere of both theory and practice. The strategy of restructuring received a mighty moral and political boost at the conference. In this lies its lasting importance.

[Horeni] What is the motivation of the party conference in relation to Soviet economic reform?

[Ryzhkov] The party conference sharply, critically, and objectively evaluated the results of work in the socioeconomic sphere in the past 3 years. You have acquainted yourselves with them. It was noted that the process of revolutionary restructuring is penetrating ever more deeply the crucial sphere of our life—the economy. Trends aimed at improving the socioeconomic situation are strengthening. Nevertheless, we did not properly appreciate the depth and the burden of the stagnation of the past years. The structural changes in the economy, as a whole, are making slow headway.

In view of this, the party conference focused its attention on a number of weak components of the economic reform. Among these are the errors and mistakes that occurred when introducing the law on enterprises into practice. These errors will be rectified in the near future. The government will adopt the necessary measures. Thus the results of the party conference constitute an impetus for developing the economic reform, for speedily introducing the new economic mechanism, and for more rapidly implementing structural changes in the economy. At the same time, the conference clearly determined the tactical line as regards the realization of economic changes. Resolving the food problem, increasing the production of consumer goods, speedily building apartments and other social projects were designated as tasks that brook no delay.

Therefore, we can rightly note that the party conference has further deepened our course of action in the social restructuring of our economy, in increasing within the framework of the concept of the national economy the share of consumption in national income, and at making the new course the axis of the entire structural and investment policy, the cornerstone for determining the pace and proportions of the economy.

[Horeni] You are obviously monitoring the preparations for the reform of the Czechoslovak economic mechanism. How do you assess it, where do you see its contribution to the further development of our mutual cooperation?

[Ryzhkov] It is understandable that we follow the economic changes in the fraternal socialist countries very closely. Their experience helps us to seek the best possible methods for resolving the existing problems. I think that our Czechoslovak friends, too, proceed similarly.

The reforms in the USSR and in the CSSR are basically identical. Their foundation is the same principle—the transition to full economic accountability.

However, judging by official reports, the economic reform in the CSSR, just as in the USSR, has not yet attained sufficiently profound qualitative changes in economic development. Our countries must carry out a cardinal transition from an extensive to intensive type of economic renewal. And there is no doubt that we will be able to do it better and faster if we develop mutual cooperation, and socialist integration.

At the same time, in connection with the deepening of the economic reforms, ever more favorable conditions will arise for joint, coordinated actions, for an ever deeper combining of forces in the economy, a matter which will yield tangible benefits to the people of our countries.

West's Reaction to Warsaw Talks Examined

LD1707224788 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1400 GMT 17 Jul 88

[From the "International Panorama" program presented by Vsevolod Ovchinnikov]

[Text] And so, Warsaw week is behind us. How has the West reacted to the new initiatives of the socialist countries and, in particular, to the Soviet proposal declared from the rostrum of Poland's Sejm? We are already aware of many positive responses. As for the negative ones, I wish to single out three typical themes among these. The first is irritation with Moscow's megaphone diplomacy. If there are, they say, new proposals, they should allegedly be made in Vienna where the professionals are in session, rather than appealing to the man in the street. The well-known aphorism can serve as an answer to this: The problems of war and peace are too grave to be trusted only to the military and the diplomats.

The second pseudo-argument is that an all-European summit would signify the uncoupling of the United States and Western Europe and would, they say, enable the Soviet Union to drive a wedge into NATO's defense. However, if this absurd logic is pursued there should be no Soviet-U.S. meetings either, but only bloc to bloc talks.

The third pseudo-argument: The most precise Soviet proposals affect planes, but the air force is incapable of capturing and holding territory. NATO's main demand, they claim, is an asymmetric reduction of Soviet tanks and artillery. However, this conclusion also fails to withstand criticism, since tanks cannot retain captured territory either. Along with planes, though, they can be elements in an offensive potential. Raising the issue of reasonable sufficiency, the Soviet Union proposes to agree on priority reductions of tactical nuclear weapons, strike aviation, and tanks.

ICAO Passes Resolution on Airbus Downing

LD1507055188 Moscow TASS in English 0547 GMT 15 Jul 88

[Text] New York July 15 TASS—The International Civil Aviation Organisation (ICAO), in a resolution of a special ICAO council session, said that it deplored the use of weapons against a civil aircraft.

The session, convened at Iran's request, was held in Montreal, Canada, to consider circumstances of the downing by a U.S. cruiser of an Iranian civil airliner with 290 people on board.

The council of the U.N. specialised agency expressed its profound condolences to the Iranian Government and the families of the victims in connection with the tragedy.

Council members unanimously instructed their president to start an investigation into the incident, jointly with the U.N. secretary general, and submit its results at a council session next September.

Envoy Comments on Discussion

PM1807150788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Interview with I.F. Vasin, Soviet representative on the International Civil Aviation Organization Council, in Montreal, by correspondent A. Blinov in Washington, under the heading "Inquiry To Be Held" and the rubric "Montreal on the Line"—date not given; first paragragh is editorial introduction]

[Excerpts] According to reports from Canada, the extraordinary session of the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) Council devoted to investigating Iran's complaint about the U.S. actions that caused the destruction of an Iranian airliner in the Persian Gulf region has come to a close in Montreal. I.F. Vasin, a participant in the session and Soviet representative on the ICAO Council, talked about the session and its decision in a telephone interview with your correspondent. [passage omitted]

Question: How did the discussion of Iran's complaint go?

Answer: The session lasted 2 days. Its participants unanimously emphasized that the use of weapons against a civilian aircraft is intolerable. A number of council members, particularly the CSSR and Cuban representatives, strongly condemned the United States, the perpetrator of the tragedy. As the Soviet representative, I termed the incident an unprovoked act of aggression against a civilian aircraft. The Soviet delegation spoke in favor of the ICAO urging the international community to work to secure the cessation of military operations in the Persian Gulf, the withdrawal of armed forces from the region, particularly the U.S. Navy, and a guarantee of normal conditions for civilian air traffic. Some participants in the session, mainly representing Western countries, confined themselves to expressing regret at the tragedy without offering clear appraisals of the causes.

Question: It has been announced that the ICAO satisfied Iran's request for an immediate investigation into the tragedy. What other steps are being taken by the ICAO?

Answer: The ICAO has expressed regret at the tragedy and conveyed its condolences to the families and relatives of those killed. It has demanded of all countries that under no circumstances must the use of weapons against civilian aircraft be tolerated. The ICAO leadership has been instructed to draw up urgent measures to increase air traffic safety in the Persian Gulf region.

The next ICAO session—to be held in September—will hear a report on the investigation into the technical causes of the tragedy. The investigation will be conducted by authoritative specialists under the aegis of this international organization. Yves Lambert, ICAO general secretary, will be in charge of the whole operation.

'International Situation: Questions & Answers'
LD1507212688 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0930 GMT 15 Jul 88

["International Situation: Questions and Answers" program presented by Ivanovo Radio correspondent Valeriy Maksimovskiy, with Yevgeniy Grachev, deputy chief editor of All-Union Radio's Mayak channel; Vladimir Fadeyev, international affairs commentator; and Igor Charikov, international affairs commentator—program recorded at an enterprise in Ivanovo Oblast]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Maksimovskiy] We now have Nikolay Nikolayevich (Arbuzov), from Ivanovo. His question is connected with the situation in Afghanistan. Vladimir Ivanovich, a reply, please.

[Fadeyev] Comrades, you know that we, the Soviet side, in accordance with the Geneva agreements signed by the Pakistani and Afghan sides on 15 April, have taken on the role of guarantors of these agreements with the American side, and we began withdrawing our troops on 15 May, in coordination with the Afghan side. This process is still continuing today, and it is reported quite fully in our press. Our Soviet boys are returning home in accordance with the prescribed schedule, and the process of this return is being supervised by special representatives of the United Nations.

I had occasion to watch their work in Kabul recently. They are supervising this process quite painstakingly and thoroughly. They are visiting the locations of our units, checking whether all of our troops have left a given territory, and what they are leaving behind.

As we have already reported, they are leaving behind buildings and special installations which are usually present in places where military units are stationed, handing them over either to the Afghan Army or, as has already been the case, to the Vatan society. This society is engaged in organizing a normal life, and I would even say a normal childhood, for those Afghan boys and girls who have lost their parents during this cruel and bloody war which, unfortunately, is still continuing today.

The hopes of the Afghan people, that the war and the bloodshed would end with the beginning of the withdrawal of our troops, have unfortunately, comrades, not been fulfilled. From my own impressions in Kabul, I can say that my comrades and I were woken up literally every night by the whistle—actually, it is not a whistle, but rather a rustle—of the rocket missiles with which the rebels shell Kabul and its various suburbs.

Other towns in Afghanistan are, unfortunately, also subjected to regular shelling. Organized explosions can be heard in the towns, and leaflets are distributed calling for a refusal to support the people's power. This is one aspect of the matter. That is, I mean that even with the beginning of the withdrawal of our troops, the armed opposition has not stopped its bloody deeds and actions against the Afghan people.

A very strange position is being taken by Pakistan, which signed the Geneva agreements. In fact Pakistan, having signed the agreements—and there was a whole series of them—has thereby undertaken to refrain from supporting either individual persons or groups which could, from its territory, inflict harm or carry out armed provocations against another country, in this case against Afghanistan.

Unfortunately, having signed these agreements with one hand, Pakistan is continuing to this day to violate them with the other. Caravans carrying arms are moving. It must be said that at the very moment when the Geneva agreements entered into force, the volume of these supplies increased substantially. The Afghan rebels have received new rockets, particularly Milan antitank rockets. This is in addition to the British Blowpipe and U.S. Stinger rockets with which they shoot down not only military aircraft but also civilian aircraft. They have recieved new U.S. mortars, which can reach Kabul and other towns from some distance. They can reach 19-20 miles, that is, something like 36 km. I'm not a specialist but that is far enough. They can shell a town while remaining out of range of the Afghan militia or the Afghan Army.

This is the problem which the people of Afghanistan are coming up against today. Of course, there are other unresolved problems in Afghanistan today, there are many of them. Together with the process of national reconciliation, which, as you know, has been continuing for 1 and ½ years, the return of the refugees is under way. It appears now, of course, that with the signing of the Geneva agreements this flow should increase. But no, the Pakistani side is doing everything, together with the armed opposition, to prevent the Afghans from returning home.

Another matter, of course, and this should not be concealed, is that not all Afghans have yet made the decision to return to their native land after many years of wandering foreign lands. Some of them have put down roots in Pakistan, and these are often in the nature of business ties. They have a business of some kind there and it is probably not so simple to just leave it. Others, frightened by hostile propaganda, are afraid to return. They had fled from the so-called revolutionary regime which was at one time compromised by Amin. The revolution at that time and the new procedures were implanted in all strata of Afghan society by force of arms. For refusing to join the party, they put you up against a wall. For

refusing to abandon your religion, they put you up against a wall. This was under Amin, comrades, I stress, for refusing to serve in the army, up against a wall or in prison, and so on.

For this reason, the people on a mass scale—a mass scale, I stress—fled to Iran, to Pakistan, and to other countries, such as Saudi Arabia. This is, as it were, the second aspect of the problem. By the way, the armed opposition also does everything to hamper the return of the Afghan refugees, because the retention of the refugees in Pakistan allows Pakistan even today to receive many millions in hand-outs from various countries through various public organizations. This money, and I repeat that this is a matter of hundreds of millions of dollars, millions of pounds sterling, helps the regime of Ziaul Haq, first to get rich—I have in mind a government of bureaucrats with sticky fingers—and second, to buy for themselves new armaments. Third, this money is a substantial support in Pakistan's economy.

The fear of losing this flow of money is currently compelling, to some extent, or explains the duplicitous position of, General Ziaul Haq and his government on the issue of the Geneva agreements. But the third complex factor is the process of creating a coalition government in Afghanistan itself. You know that the leaders of the so-called Peshawar Seven have categorically refused to join a coalition government, although the government of Najibullah has for a long time now been inviting them to take part in talks on the country's future and on the composition of the government. They have never once responded to these appeals, and this circumstance provides that same country of Pakistan with an opportunity to speculate on precisely the problem of the coalition government. Ziaul Haq is convinced that the Seven should join the government—should, but under what conditions? These conditions are well-known and have been published. The basis should be purely patriotic, that is, the basis must be the same interests which even today determine the government of Kabul. This, unfortunately, hasn't occurred yet.

Vladimir Nikolayevich Momayev, a fitter-repair worker at the fish works, asks: What steps are being undertaken to free our prisoners in Afghanistan? Well, you know about these steps. They are primarily being undertaken through diplomatic channels. You already know about the statement by our government, and about the notes on this matter which have been handed personally to Ziaul Haq. He has promised to help, so that all prisoners—those which he hears about, he stresses, on the territory of Pakistan—might be returned home immediately and without delay. But the point is that some of the prisoners are in prison under Gulbuddin Hikmatyar. He has stated that he won't release a single Soviet soldier in custody in his prisons until, as he insolently states, the Soviet Union pays the bill for reparations which he, Gulbuddin, intends to present to our country after the withdrawal of our troops.

[Maksimovksiy] Thank You, Vladimir Ivanovich. I can see that there is a question in the hall. Introduce yourself, please.

[Tokarev] Mikhail Ovanovich Tokarev, secretary of the combine's party committee. You have already partly replied to the question which I wanted to ask. I would just like to ask this, Vladimir Ivanovich: You have told us in detail that Pakistan is breaching the Geneva agreements. How is this reflected in the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, and this whole policy. I would like a reply to this question.

[Fadeyev] Mikhail Sergeyevich has replied to this question in a very clear-cut way. I can only repeat the essence of his reply. He stated in his interview that if Pakistan does not listen to the voice of reason, if it does not heed the notes from the Afghan Government, then we will review the schedule of the withdrawal. We will introduce amendments to it.

[Maksimovskiy] Thank you. Another question in the hall? Have you got the microphone?

[Beleshev] Igor Beleshev, university student. I have two questions. The first one is, again, concerning Afghanistan. There are at present many statements in the press and on television that the introduction of our Soviet troops into Afghanistan was a mistake, it was not thought through, was not weighed, as they say. The old thinking introduced these troops and the new thinking is withdrawing them. What do you think about this? The second question is about the recent attempt on the life of the Turkish president [as heard]. What is it connected with, and which circles have an interest in this attempt?

[Grachev] Well, I'll answer the first question, (?if I may).

[Fadeyev] Yes, I would like to remind you that in the first place we were linked to Afghanistan by a certain treaty; it was concluded under Brezhnev. This treaty—if we had, for example, appealed to Afghanistan for help, or if they had appealed to us, then the commitments had to be fulfilled.

Another matter: While all of this was being addressed, I think that some hotheads and adherents of a military solution to the problem brewing on our southern borders had gained the upper hand. The fact that such a problem was brewing is clear. You know that the Kabul regime, headed by Amin at that time, would have had literally a few hours left to live if we had not gone in. That is quite certain. Afghanistan was so inundated with dushmans at that time, and they were already pinching the People's Army—which was not very strong at that time—so hard that the matter at stake was the very fate of the young April Revolution.

I repeat that I am not a military strategist. I am a journalist. I think that it probably would have been possible to seek some other ways of solving that problem,

without the introduction of our limited contingent. This contingent was introduced there, as you know, for a short time, as some of our military hotheads thought. But, you see, our stay there was extended for some years. Graves and funerals came out of there, and grief, irreparable grief, the grief of the losses of sons, husbands, and so on, took up residence in many thousands of our Soviet homes forever, together with Afghanistan.

I believe that that decision was made rashly, without considering the very complex circumstances of a country where the state religion is Islam, and which had, incidentally, the very severe and serious experience of three wars with the British. Now, if any of you have read the latest edition of the magazine ZA RUBEZHOM, there is a splendid interview there with Kim Philby, a famous intelligence man. Kim Philby believes that if we had not gone into Afghanistan at that time, then the Americans would definitely have done so. That is a moot point: I do not think the Americans would not have gone in, although I do not have any grounds for making a 100 percent assertion. [passage omitted, including Grachev, Charikov comments]

Weekly 'International Observers Roundtable'
LD1707211188 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1130 GMT 17 Jul 88

["International Observers Roundtable" program with Viktor Aleksandrovich Tsoppi, international affairs journalist; Aleksey Nikolayevich Grigoryev, international affairs journalist; and Igor Pavlovich Charikov, All-Union Radio commentator]

[Text] [Charikov] Hello, esteemed comrades. We shall be devoting most of our time today to a single important topic, a single important event: the results of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's official friendly visit to the Polish People's Republic. A great deal is being written about it at present, both by the Polish press and by the press of the other socialist countries. The proposals which Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev put forward in his address to the Polish Sejm are being actively and extensively commented on, not only by the press of the socialist countries, but also by that of NATO countries.

[Tsoppi] You know, Igor Pavlovich, in principle I feel that Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's visit to Poland is not only an outstanding event, but also a qualitatively new phenomenon in mutual relations between the socialist countries. There was a minimum of pomp and formality, showing that official contacts at the highest level are being humanized. All Poland welcomed Gorbachev. But what is all Poland? It is a complex mechanism, a complex social mechanism, with its own acute internal contradictions; with its various ideological trends; with the Communist Party, which is leading the country on the socialist path; and with the Catholic Church. For Poland, pluralism and diversity of opinion, and even of antagonistic philosophies, have long been not a speculative plan, but a day-to-day political fact of life.

Mikhail Sergeyevich met the shipbuilders at Szczecin. How could one have failed to remember that they, following the lead of the shipbuilders at Gdansk shipyard, were one of the most active detachments of the working class, which saw in the Solidarity movements—which was later to lose its way and begin a fight for power—a form and method of protest, workers' protests, against the policy of social injustice that had led to the deepest crisis in the history of the socialist countries?

The shipbuilders, including former members of Solidarity, welcomed the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee with a placard: "We express full solidarity with our Soviet friends in their great cause of restructuring." That said a lot. In the first place, it was an expression of confidence in the first socialist country; of the fact that they, too, are for socialism, for their own Polish socialism, which, in the process of being purified by renewal and profound economic and social reforms, is once again becoming the banner of all the working people of Poland.

Then, Gorbachev and Jaruzelski took part in a meeting of young people of the Soviet Union and Poland, in Krakow. Youth, for Poland, is also a big and, as yet, rather distressing problem. And the youth of Poland has been affected by a very serious apathy and indifference to politics, and disillusionment with socialism, when the very principles of socialism have been violated. Polish youths, like our own younger generation, is today seeking answers to many, at times agonizing, questions. They're striving for independence; they want to have their say and not miss the boat, as it were.

The chairman of the main directorate of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth, Szmajdzinski, was right when he spoke at the meeting in Krakow of the mutual attraction between young Poles and Soviet boys and girls, and of the fact that the problems facing them have in many respects much in common: both are ready to play a full and creative part in achieving a qualitatively new condition of society, and no one must stand in the way of young people who want to meet, get to know each other, and argue.

I liked very much, for example, what Jaruzelski said at that same youth meeting, that we have often accepted friendship between institutions as a substitute for friendship between people. The official trip and the friendship train were practically the only opportunity we had of meeting each other. Today, it must be a question above all of direct contacts, real and concrete. Let young people, if they so desire, visit their contemporaries. Let them appear with their rucksacks in the streets of Moscow and Warsaw, Karakow and Kiev. Let them—of course, let them!

Not just the young, I would like to add. I think in this connection that no economic integration of the CEMA member countries—even if ideally planned—will be crowned with success; we will not succeed in erecting any

sort of socialist common market, unless we make a start today with human integration, the mutual diffusion, as it were, of our socialist societies. It is no joke at all that it is far easier, to this day, for a Pole to go to the United States for a month or even a year, than to come to us. No, of course there is no iron curtain dividing us, such as existed in the cold war years between East and West. There are other curtains between us: palisades, fences, and the hurdles of all kinds of bureaucratic codes that are not at all dictated by the interests of people and nations, but have been brought to long life by the deeply rooted official dread of anything that might cause trouble.

[Grigoryev] May I chip in here for a moment?

[Charikov] Please do.

[Grigoryev] You see, I think you are right in saying that our restructuring in the Soviet Union and the present socialist renewal in Poland are destined to intermingle. There is one area in which we and the Poles are, in a general way, connected, and that is in our common history. That history has been far from easy, abounding in both dark patches, as they say, and at times, patches of quite another gloomy color. Both Comrade Gorbachev and Comrade Jaruzelski spoke of this in their speeches in the Sejm. Mikhail Sergeyevich said that, indeed, we still have, regarding many of the blots on that shared history, too much emotion and not enough rigorous scientific analysis. That is so unfortunate; we already know that there is a joint commission of Polish and Soviet historians at work.

As someone who is interested in history—both our own and Polish history—I have the feeling that that commission is as yet only just setting out on its journey. I will quote a small example here: Some 4 or 5 months ago, there was an interview in PRAVDA with the chairman of our part of the commission, the director of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, Academician Smirnov. One of the things he said in that interview was that in our historical science, Soviet science, it is incorrectly stated that there was a war between the Soviet Union and Poland in 1939, that this is incorrect and there was no war, there were no prisoners of war, and so on and so forth. Well, being interested in history, I thumbed through our newspapers of 1939, and read a summary of operations issued by the general staff of the RKKA [Worker-Peasant Red Army], which said that on the 17th or 18th or 19th—it does not matter—of September 1939, Red Army units continued their push against the Polish forces in such-and-such a direction, that so many thousand prisoners of war had been taken, such-and-such a quantity of spoils of war captured, and so and so on. We might as well admit openly that it was war.

It is a different matter that in the course of that war, we saved the inhabitants of western Ukraine and Western Belorussia from enslavement by the Germans. It is not easy to let go of things that have become entrenched, especially among people of the older generation, in memory. But we have found the courage to disown, say, the frankly shameful declaration by our chairman of the Council of People's Commissars at the time, Molotov, after the fall of Poland, his shameless declaration addressed to Poland. Evidently we will also have to renounce a few other things that do indeed contradict the true meaning of events. It is a very difficult process, but it is a necessary process, and it will only lead to still greater understanding between our people and the Polish people, which is what we should all be striving for.

[Tsoppi] You know, that's exactly what I was told when I was recently—very recently—in Poland, by the chairman for the Polish side of the Soviet-Polish Commission of Historians, Professor Jarema Maciszewski. He said that of course public interest in all these so-called blank spots was enormous. Why? Because whole generations of people have themselves suffered terrible tragedies, including the Polish Communists, whose party was in effect crushed just before the beginning of World War II. And there are other very difficult pages of that history. Unless we overcome that past, we shall not be able to move together into the future and we may undermine what Mikhail Sergeyevich, in his speech at the Royal Castle in Warsaw, called the movement of the peoples as they strive to come together, the mutual approach of the peoples. And the main criterion of the achievements of socialism and, on the contrary, of its losses, must be the human measure and the human criterion. This has a direct bearing on the theme you've touched on. I think this was also the line that predominated at Mikhail Sergeyevich's meeting with Polish cultural and scientific figures.

[Grigoryev] Not only Polish-Soviet figures were there as well. Yes. The Polish intelligentsia, you know, is very heterogeneous. Most of its representatives are doing what they can to support the process of socialist renewal, but there are also quite a few who have yet to declare themselves and are tormenting themselves with doubts: Do we need more socialism, or is it not already bankrupt? They're publishing their views either in emigre journals or in underground ones. And among these people there are brilliant talents, splendid intellects. You remember how sincerely, how honestly, how excitedly, and how openly Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev talked with those figures from all spheres of Polish scientific and artistic endeavor. He talked, but he listened as well to their arguments, which were at times very contradictory and very different from ours. Everything that has been said here, he said, is of enormous interest; in this hall we've heard various opinions and thoughts.

Until quite recently, when we spoke of heterodox opinion, we at once began asking ourselves whether it was not time we did away with it. And yet dissent is simply thinking differently [a ved inakomysliye—eto prosto inaya mysl]—and there must always be different ways of thinking when great problems, great issues, serious issues, new issues are being discussed.

Dissent—if it's another way of thinking and not political profiteering, which also exists—is the motive force of spiritual and technical progress. Undoubtedly. Undoubtedly, this is an attitude that greatly impresses many of those who were in the Yellow Hall of the Royal Castle. And there's no doubt, either, that it's not at all to the liking of those—both in Poland and in our own country—who cling doggedly to the project which was current the day before yesterday: putting an end to dissent, and thereby striking a blow at glasnost in general, at the new thinking, at perestroyka.

[Charikov] Yes. Well I think we've analyzed the results of that visit in sufficient detail from the viewpoint of bilateral relations. What I'd like us to do now is pool our efforts and turn our attention to the initiatives, the foreign policy initatives, that Mikhail Sergeyevich voiced in his address to the Polish Sejm. We know their content, so I don't think we need necessarily repeat that—we'll be referring to it in context in one way or another—but I have the impression that in general, not all the reactions to those initiatives have been the same. On the one hand, you come across fairily sensible arguments, and on the other, one feels a certain adherence, you know, to the old diehard logic of dismissing all Soviet initiatives out of hand. Such attempts have already been made—to sweep them aside, to dissociate themselves with them at once, refuse to have anything to do with them—with the claim that there's nothing new in these proposals. But all the same, there are also, as I said, some perfectly sensible comments.

One of them which I would like to quote is the statement West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dieter Genscher made in an interview with the radio station Deutschlandfunk. He welcomed this proposal for, in particular, a general European summit on reducing conventional arms, in which the United States and Canada would also take part. The Soviet leader, he said, has approved the idea of an exchange of data obtained as a result of verification of conventional arms reduction. I am convinced, said Genscher, that the policy of restructuring being pursued in the Soviet Union will also be reflected in the sphere of disarmament.

[Tsoppi] You know, Igor Pavlovich, there have indeed been various reactions to the proposals: the perfectly specific proposal to hold a general European conference on reducing arms and armed forces; for a symmetrical scrapping of a proportion of military aircraft; and for setting up a center for reducing the risk of war. Poland has even suggested that the center might be on its soil. For some reason, we have this sort of epidemic, purely reflex reaction, immediately. As AFP reported from Brussels, where NATO has its headquarters: NATO sees no point in either a European summit or a symmetrical withdrawal of combat aircraft.

There follows a whole lot of stuff to the effect that this is no more than a shrewd move made, supposedly, to delude the public. From the same NATO sources come the worst sort of hypocritical diplomatic assurances that, while they regard this proposal as unacceptable, they will study it closely.

[Grigoryev] I would like to add, Victor Aleksandrovich, that other people are involved besides NATO, and in Western Europe, besides NATO, there were many reactions at a very high level of a very positive nature. In this respect, one may recall the pronouncement by President Mitterrand. I do not want now to name them all, but to some extent there has been support. You, Igor Pavlovich, referred to Genscher. There have been even more definite and positive pronouncements, for example, in Spain and Italy. Those two countries are, as you know, somewhat tied up with these aircraft that are being transferred from one place to another. One place is no longer to have the aircraft, and the other does not want to receive them.

[Charikov, interrupting] They were very good and high-level ones.

[Grigoryev] Yes, indeed. So they have altogether, nevertheless, not been really uniform. However, they have in the main been in favor of these proposals—and in this I mean the political leaders in Western Europe. Of course, and I repeat this, opposition forces do remain.

[Charikov] In this regard, I am very much of the opinion that the fact that these questions were raised during the meetings and talks in Poland was a fine prologue for the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact, which opened at the conclusion of the visit right there in Warsaw.

[Grigoryev] You know, I would also like to draw attention to the fact that at the present time the following new assessments have been appearing in the press of the socialist countries. It is being said that a determining role in the quest for a way to reduce conventional armaments could be played by the small countries. Their increased activity in matters of disarmament is shown by a whole number of peaceful initiatives that they have put forward, including the Jaruzelski plan, the Jakes plan, the proposals by the SED Party and the West German SDP Party, and the initiatives of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, Finland's Social-Democratic Party, and Italy's Socialist Party.

[Charikov] No one can fail to be involved, naturally.

[Grigoryev] Quite so. See how the role of the small countries has shone out afresh. Indeed, their role is not a small one. Although the countries are themselves not large, their role, as we can see, is becoming more and more considerable and substantial.

[Tsoppi] Indeed, the role and responsibility of the large countries is not decreasing.

[Charikov] That is so.

[Tsoppi] At the present time we are following very attentively what is happening in the United States and whether there will be continuity, at least in the foreign policy of that country. However, in my view no one can as yet answer this question.

[Grigoryev] Quite so. It is still very early to make predictions, the more so since there is, you know, one regular feature: the unpredictabilty of the future administration.

[Charikov] Last week, as you know, there was a happening in U.S. domestic political life. Michael Dukakis, the Democratic Party contender, finally decided on his choice of a partner in the presidential race. As you know, his choice was Lloyd Bentsen, a senator for the State of Texas. Now that we are on the subject of the United States, I should like to say that the National Convention of the Democratic Party will be opening on Monday—tomorrow—in Atlanta, Georgia. It will last 4 days. I do not really know everything on the agenda. There are two questions: the endorsement of the platform, and the endorsement, so to speak, of the candidates for the posts of president and vice president. On all the other days, however, there will probably be a noisy type of spectacle and show.

[Tsoppi] But not only a show. I think that there will be some political action.

[Charikov] As a rule, especially in recent years, the national conventions have begun to turn into these shows, which are aimed at attracting universal attention to the party itself and the features of its program, and so on. Well, we shall see.

In any event let me say a few words about Bentsen. It must be said that Dukakis' choice to a certain extent surprised, if not flabbergasted, the observers, who were expecting that he would invite perhaps a more authoritative politician to be his partner. Some predictions were even being made. It was expected that he would choose Mario Cuomo, governor of New York State, which would have considerably strengthened Dukakis' position in his upcoming struggle against Bush.

There was a further unexpected side to his choice. The fact is that Bentsen is politically completely opposite to Dukakis. Whereas Dukakis can to some extent be regarded as a liberal, Bentsen does not hide his plainly conservative positions. Just consider this: Dukakis considers it unnecessary to allot money for the construction of the MX missile system and the B-1 bomber, while Bentsen is an energetic supporter of such action. In the sphere of domestic policy, too. I can specify the following, for instance. Dukakis is demanding that controls be intensified on the ownership of firearms in the United States. Incidentally, this is a serious problem. Bentsen, however, categorically objects to this. On the contrary, he favors a relaxation of such controls, and so on. In brief, their positions do not coincide on a whole number of issues. It is still hard to say how their relations will develop, but the Republicans, political opponents of the Democrats, are seeking opportunities to make use of these differences for their election purposes.

Well, as far as the Republicans go, their convention will be taking place in August, in a month's time. We shall see who Bush chooses as his partner. In this connection indeed particular colleagues of ours—both Soviet and foreign—are attempting to draw a certain parallel between the situation that has developed among the Democrats at the present time—in 1988—and the situation that came about in 1960, when a liberal, John Kennedy, the late president, adopted as his running mate Lyndon Johnson, who was also from Texas.

[Tsoppi] Also a fairly conservative one.

[Charikov] A very conservative one. And look (?how they got on). But, in any event, we will see, and for the time being we will not make any prediction. One would really wish the next administration to fully live up—at least in the matter of Soviet-U.S. relations—to what is expected of it, what it is, so to speak, being persuaded into now—to display continuity.

[Tsoppi] In the end, the political struggle is their problem and foreign policy is already our problem.

[Charikov] Quite right!

[Grigoryev] I wish to raise one more historical subject, for this year it is 40 years ago that very grave events occurred in the history of Soviet-Yugoslav relations. It was in March 1948 that this conflict started, with the inexplicable recall of Soviet soldiers from Yugoslavia. Then economic advisers were recalled. This conflict continued with letters written by Stalin to the Yugoslav leaders, unjust letters, full of brutal and unjust accusations. It ended with a complete rupture between the USSR and Yugoslavia, both at party and state level, and Yugoslavia's removal from the world communist movement, from the countries of people's democracy. I will read you one document. It is a brief one; it has only four paragraphs.

"To Comrades Stalin and Molotov:

"We have received your letter, dated 4 May 1948. There is no need to write about the distressing impression this letter, too, has made on us. It has convinced us that all our attempts to prove, even by means of facts, that all accusations against us are the result of incorrect information, are in vain.

"We are not evading criticism on fundamental questions but in this matter we feel so unequal that we cannot agree to resolve this problem at the Informburo now. The participating parties have already received your first letter without our preliminary notification and have expressed their position. The contents of your letter have not remained an internal matter of the individual parties

but have gone beyond permissible bounds. The consequences are such that today some countries, for instance Czechoslovakia and Hungary, are insulting not only our party but also the country as a whole, as was the case during our parliamentary delegation's stay in Prague. The consequences of all this for our country are very distressing.

"We want to dispose of this question and prove in practice that the accusations against us are unjust, that is to say, that we are building socialism persistently and remain true to the Soviet Union, and we remain true to the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin.

"The future will show, just as the past has already shown, that we will achieve what we are promising you."

This letter was drafted, as you have noted, using the vocabulary of that time. The letter is sincere. It is a letter from Tito and other Yugoslav leaders. I must tell you that it now being broadcast for the first time on Soviet radio and it was published for the first time in the issue of our magazine EKHO PLANETY which just came out yesterday, on Saturday, carrying a large historical article entitled "The Removal of Yugoslavia." I will take this opportunity to call on the readers of our magazine to acquaint themselves with it.

[Charikov] I would like to add a few more words to what has been said before. As is known, strengthening and developing interrelations with all socialist countries is the priority direction of our entire foreign policy. These interrelations are built on long-term interests and we are making energetic efforts in order to improve cooperation, to enrich its content. It goes without saying, for the purpose of achieving complete mutual understanding on this path, as was said above, it is necessary to seek, having displayed a certain courage, to remove blnak or dark spots from the common past. With regard to Poland, we have spoken about this in detail, and with reference to Yugoslavia, I would like to quote the Soviet-Yugoslav declaration adopted in March of this year during Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's official visit to that country. Here is what it says in the declaration:

Soviet-Yugoslav relations were subjected to severe trials.

The layers and the burden of the past have been removed, thanks to the unswerving observance of mutually approved principles. In his speech to the Yugoslav Assembly, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev also devoted attention to this matter. The conflict which arose, which you just mentioned, Aleksey Nikolayevich, caused great harm to Yugoslavia, the Soviet Union, and the cause of Socialism. It is necessary to state this so as not to leave any room for wariness, suspicion, distrust, or offense, which, as history shows, can easily arise in relations between peoples, and are so difficult to overcome afterward.

To remove the unfortunate misunderstandings of the past and to strengthen in every possible way the trust between all fraternal socialist countries, it is only from the position of a truthful and honest interpretation of the past that what was undertaken and what is being undertaken can be fully appreciated.

We've spoken in detail today about Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's visit to the Polish People's Republic which, from this point of view, within this context, is of immense significance.

We should also dwell on another event which took place in Warsaw in the past few days, which ended yesterday. This was the conference of the Warsaw Pact member states Political Consultative Committee. We reported on the progress in this conference in our routine broadcasts. Today it is already possible to speak about some results. They are as follows: Three important documents were signed, evidence of the deepening of foreign policy ties within the framework of the Warsaw Pact and of the further joint steps by its members. They are aimed at strengthening positive trends in world development and at restructuring international relations on the basis of the new political thinking.

The first document is the statement by the Warsaw Pact member states on talks on reducing armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe. The document is based on the proposals made by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev during his speech in the Polish Sejm. A document entitled "The Consequences of the Arms Race for the Environment and Other Aspects of Ecological Security" was also adopted. The communique of the conference was also adopted.

All documents of the conference of the Political Consultative Committee have been published in the press and are already drawing wide comment in the foreign press and other mass media.

First of all, what is being noted is the fact that one of the main tasks of this supreme forum of Warsaw Pact member states was to approve the new positive trends in the development of the international situation. After the historic Soviet-U.S. accords had been reached, the socialist countries made giving an irreversible progressive nature to the process of disarmament their main aim, along with speeding up the advance toward a world without nuclear weapons and violence.

A whole range of foreign press organs point to the defensive nature of the Warsaw Pact, which blends in with the new political situation and is notable for its progress on the path toward disarmament and the establishment of a new type of international relations.

At the present time many observers are speaking about the activation of the Soviet Union's peace offensive, as they put it. One can agree with such an evaluation, but only by qualifying this by saying that on the foreign policy front our country is acting in close unity with its socialist allies.

Among some people in the West this peace offensive evokes a feeling of satisfaction, as evidence of the constructive intentions of the socialist community. Among others the reaction is of an opposed nature: ill-concealed irritation. One cannot expect the stereotypes of political thinking, which have piled up in the course of so many years, to disappear instantaneously. Nevertheless, as Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski said at the dinner in honor of the participants in the Political Consultative Committee conference: We hope that the latest proposals of the Warsaw Pact member states will be accepted by our partners. I think the near future will show how sincere our Western partners are in practice in their devotion to the cause of limiting armaments and lowering the level of the danger of war both in Europe and throughout the world.

At this point, comrades, we complete our roundtable conversation. On behalf of those who took part in it, I thank you for your attention and say goodbye.

United States & Canada

'Good Boy' Policy Blamed for Airbus Downing

PM1807112988 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 16 Jul 88 First Edition p 5

[Article by Lieutenant Colonel V. Markushin: "Sign of Trouble Above Persian Gulf; Around the Incident of the Iranian Airliner Shot Down by the U.S. Navy"]

[Text] In elucidating the tragedy which occurred 3 July in the Persian Gulf when rocket fire from the U.S. cruiser "Vincennes" shot down the Iranian passenger aircraft, certain circles in the West have been trying to present the matter as though what happened were merely an annoying incident in circumstances where a "good boy" simply had the right to make a mistake. At the same time, some of them are strenuously drawing an analogy with the incident 5 years ago involving the Korean Air Line aircraft of South Korea in the region of Sakhalin. The following train of thought can be traced here: The Soviet Union, which was once in an awkward situation itself, should treat the present incident with understanding. We made a mistake today; tomorrow you will make a mistake; no one is protected from mistakes. That is our philosophy of life.

Yet if you seek an analogy between these two incidents, it lies by no means in "mistakes" or in "fatal coincidences." This analogy lies in the fact that both incidents were the result of Washington's extremely dangerous, irresponsible policy.

What is the incident involving the South Korean Boeing? An unknown aircraft invades the Soviet Union's airspace and then flies over Soviet territory for a little over 2 hours. On board the aircraft is the most modern navigation equipment making it possible to fly a precisely set route, but the crew is 500-600 km off the international air route. The crew members have a high level of professional training and can operate under any meteorological conditions, but they "wander about" like novices. An attempt is made to enter into communication with the violator, including with the aid of the well-known general call sign on the international emergency frequency. But the aircraft does not respond to this signal nor to other signals and actions by the Soviet air defense fighters. Moreover, it tries to maneuver and break away under cover of cloud, darkness, and poor visibility.

In this situation, the air defense commander's decision was perfectly logical. Having carefully analyzed the violator's actions and his route above strategically important targets of the USSR, as well as the situation which prevailed at that moment with the patrolling by several U.S. spy aircraft, it reached the conclusion that there was a reconnaissance aircraft in Soviet airspace. An order was issued to the interceptor, and it fired warning shots using tracer shells along the course of the violating aircraft, to which the latter did not react. One asks: Why not? Because it was perfectly obvious that the Boeing 747 was fulfilling an order from the ground. On board was special reconnaissance equipment which, if it landed at a Soviet airfield, would have been yet another piece of irrefutable evidence convicting it of espionage.

In view of the Soviet side's use of every possible warning measure under these conditions and the violating aircraft's refusal to fulfill the demands of the air defense forces that it land on Soviet territory, in accordance with existing USSR legislation, a fighter interceptor took measures to halt the aircraft. The full picture of this espionage venture organized by U.S. intelligence emerged later. It was a venture which deliberately sacrificed people's lives—a fact which was denounced throughout the world and for which the Soviet side expressed profound regret.

The incident in the Persian Gulf looks quite different. The Iranian A-300 passenger aircraft was on its regular flight No 655 from Bandar-e Abbas to Dubayy in the United Arab Emirates. It was flying in a strictly defined air corridor stipulated by the International Civil Aviation Organization. The Americans had no right to ignore the most important article of the 1958 Geneva Convention on the open sea which, inter alia, proclaims freedom of flights in international airspace. They had no right to create even the slightest obstacles to flights, still less to use weapons against any aircraft.

And here is what it is important to note. The United States violated the principle it had itself declared, for the sake of which it is allegedly keeping its armada in the Persian Gulf: It destroyed a peaceful civilian target which it was, logically, called on to defend.

What are the most important details of the incident above the Persian Gulf?

The aircraft which was shot down, Iranian official spokesmen say, issued the relevant signal for a civilian airliner from the moment it took off until the time it was struck by the U.S. rocket and blew up. The Pentagon states that the A-300 aircraft was at the same time issuing a signal that it was a combat aircraft. But this statement contradicts other evidence, in particular that obtained from the frigate "Sides" which was not far from the cruiser "Vincennes" but did not receive the second (combat) signal.

The story that the Iranian airbus was "losing altitude menacingly" as it approached the U.S. cruiser proved unfounded. This was the initial claim of Pentagon spokesmen. The British newspaper THE SUNDAY TIMES reports that it has secret British intelligence materials and that these materials provide evidence that the A-300 was not losing altitude but climbing. There is also other evidence on this score. Thus, according to Brigade General M. Sattari, commander of the Iranian Air Force, the conversation between the A-300 airbus pilot and the air traffic controller at Bandar-e Abbas

airport was recorded on tape. It confirms that the Iranian aircraft was gaining altitude and was following the designated course and issuing identifying signals. The U.S. Navy ignored the information which was being broadcast over the air, including signals from the air traffic control services, and refused to take into account the facts of the real situation. The Iranian side intends to place the tape, with irrefutable proof of this fact, at the disposal of the international organs which are to investigate the tragedy.

The following fact is also important. For emergency cases of this kind, an international frequency has been allocated specially, on which the "Vincennes" Commander W. Rogers was obliged to liaise with the Iranian crew to remove all doubts. This was not done.

Finally, the story which the Pentagon initially adopted appears dubious. According to this story, the huge Airbus was mistaken for the miniature F-14 fighter, one-third the size. After all, the cruiser "Vincennes," which was commissioned in 1985 and swallowed up about $1 billion, was widely advertised as the last word in ship technology. It is equipped with the most sophisticated "Aegis" system for tracking and identifying aircraft, a system which makes it possible to detect several dozen air targets simultaneously.

Incidentally, all talk of disruptions in the operation of the computers merely undermine faith in the "wisdom" of ultramodern technology which the supporters of expensive electronics, those of SDI, for instance, preach so zealously.

The vindicating stories which Pentagon spokesmen are putting forward one after the other attest to their desire to put an end to the matter and to lessen U.S. responsibility. This hypocrisy appears particularly graphic if you recall the malicious anti-Soviet campaign which Washington launched after the 1983 incident.

And so a crime has been committed. Even if you admit that the destruction of the Iran Air aircraft was connected with a technical error, this error did not occur by accident. It was the natural extension of another error—a political error. There are no guarantees that U.S. Navy ships will not act similarly in the future. Essentially the representatives of the top military leadership are exhorting them to do so. For instance, W. Crowe, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, who stated that "ship commanders should not wait to be fired on before opening retaliatory fire." Exhortations of this kind can only be interpreted as a threat to other countries' civilian aircraft. After all, it is not ruled out that a similar situation may arise tomorrow in any other part of the world's oceans where U.S. Navy warships are cruising.

These exhortations are also evidence that the U.S. command personnel's notorious code of conduct is steadily being reinforced in the direction of greater aggressiveness. Let's be frank: This does not tally with the nature of the changes taking place in the peoples' feelings and their hopes to strengthen the good beginnings and common sense in world politics.

Asylum Granted to U.S. Citizen Souther

PM1807180188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 6

[Unattributed report: "On the Granting of Asylum in the USSR to a U.S. Citizen"]

[Text] U.S. citizen Glen Michael Souther made a request to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium that he be granted asylum in the USSR. He gave as the motive for his request the fact that he was forced to hide from the U.S. special services, which are persecuting him without justification.

Guided by humane considerations, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium met Glen Michael Souther's request, and he was granted asylum in the USSR.

U.S. Reaction to Iran UN Resolution Acceptance

LD1907082288 Moscow TASS in English 0730 GMT 19 Jul 88

[Text] Washington July 19 TASS—The Reagan administration issued a statement on Monday welcoming the offical acceptance by Iran of Resolution 598 of the U.N. Security Council, which demands an immediate ceasefire in the Iran-Iraq conflict. The statement also commits the United States to efforts aimed at facilitating the earliest establishment of a lasting peace between Iran and Iraq, at strengthening stability and security in the Persian Gulf area.

Commenting on the statement, State Department spokeswoman Phyllis Oakley, however, failed to tell the journalists the details of a single specific plan by the United States aimed at promoting regional peace following Iran's decision. She only said that it was too early now to make any conjectures on the possible actions.

Moreover, when asked bluntly whether the USA was going to pull out its Navy from the Persian Gulf, Oakley said that the USA stayed in the Gulf for a long time, since the 1940's, and that the USA intended to retain strong positions ...that policy had not changed, she said.

Oakley also asserted that the presence of U.S. naval vessels in the Gulf ostensibly promoted stability in the region.

During a news briefing at Santa Barbara, California, where President Reagan is currently resting, White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater said that the recent incident over the shooting down by the American cruiser Vincennes of a passenger airliner over the Persian Gulf should be considered...a factor which indirectly contributed to the adoption by Iran of Resolution 598 since, according to Fitzwater, as a result of the tragedy Vice President Bush received an opportunity to speak at the U.N. Security Council where he set out in unequivocal terms the U.S. policy and stressed the firm intention to remain in the Persian Gulf.

Asked about the possibility of a U.S. withdrawal from the region the White House spokesman said that he did not anticipate any changes in the U.S. policy in this respect.

Shultz To Meet Central America Foreign Ministers

LD1707130388 Moscow TASS in English 1222 GMT 17 Jul 88

[Text] Washington July 17 TASS—The U.S. Department of State announced on Saturday that Secretary of State George Shultz would meet with the foreign ministers of Guatemala, Costa Rica, El Salvador, and Honduras in the Guatemalan capital on August 1.

The sides will discuss the current situation in Central America and the peace process in the region, the State Department's announcement pointed out.

A trip by the secretary of state was announced at the height of a new anti-Nicaraguan campaign launched in Washington after the Sandinist government took measures to curb the activity of the ultra-rightists in the country and expelled American diplomats from Nicaragua for unpermitted activities.

The White House has already stated its support for the bill introduced by Robert Dole, leader of the Republican minority in the Senate. The bill envisages the allocation of twenty million dollars to the contras for military purposes and 27.1 million dollars for the so-called humanitarian aid.

At the same time Washington seeks to win support of neighbouring countries, with whose foreign ministers George Shultz will meet, for U.S. plans aimed at pressurising Nicaragua.

Commentator Criticizes U.S. Embassy Over Visas

LD1607021688 Moscow in English to North America 2200 GMT 15 Jul 88

[Text] A strange sight could be seen lately near the U.S. Embassy in Moscow as crowds filled the street near it from early morning. The hundreds of people were waiting for American visas, but were denied them. Telling the people that there was a shortage of funds for the necessary formalities, the U.S. Embassy said these people would have to wait at least till October, when the new fiscal year starts in the United States. Our news analyst (?Vladimir Markov) makes the following comment:

Practically all these people, he writes, are Armenians who have been issued foreign passports to go to the United States to (?be reunited) with their families. There are about 2,000 of them and their exit from the Soviet Union is in no way related to the events in Nagorno-Karabakh.

In view of being denied American entry visas the hundreds of families have been put in a very difficult position. As they counted on a fast exit, they sold their houses and other property, had left work and had their children taken out of school. All these people have official invitations from close relatives, endorsed by and sealed with the stamp of the U.S. Department of State. For this reason, it is hardly plausible that the U.S. authorities don't have enough funds. The invitations say that the relatives are ready to incur all the expenses linked with their voyage, including payment for housing.

But U.S. Deputy Secretary of State Richard Schifter said that was not enough. He led a delegation that took part in a recent Soviet-American roundtable discussion in Moscow on humanitarian issues. It seems that the family of those to whom the invitation has been extended must prove additionally that they have the means for subsistence. For this purpose, the family must provide documents about its income, bank accounts, and tax papers.

It is really strange. At first the State Department confirmed that the relatives could incur the expenses, but said later that some additional papers were required.

As far as the USSR is concerned, an invitation certified by the appropriate Soviet agency is enough for entry visas to this country.

Apart from bureaucratic difficulties for the American side, there is also political prejudice evident. Soviet citizens going to the United States to reunite with their families are regarded there as refugees. This is a serious issue, since putting a person in that category requires proof that that person was persecuted in the Soviet Union. Thus, Soviet citizens who intend to go to the United States, including for family reunions, have to provide American officials with invented stories about persecution, casting a shadow on their home country.

But with Jews and some other people there have been no cases so far of denial of American entry visas. It is hardly possible to regard as ethical such screening so as to ensure entry above all for people who suit the receiving state, in this case the United States, for economic, political, and other considerations.

Scientists Discuss Possible AIDS Cooperation

LD1807193588 MOscow TASS in English 1747 GMT 18 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 18 TASS—Possibilities for Soviet-U.S. cooperation on AIDS (Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome) problems are the focus of attention at a meeting of the two countries' scientists. The meeting began here today.

The U.S. delegation led by Robert Windom, U.S. assistant secretary of health, education and welfare, had a talk with Academician Yevgeniy Chazov, minister of health

of the USSR. The dialogue was continued in the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences the president of which, Valentin Pokrovskiy, is at the head of AIDS research in the USSR.

The dangerous disease has seriously puzzled scientists around the world. But notwithstanding the active search, there still are too many areas where the i's have not been dotted. This is why we should be together, said Robert Windom. This opinion is also shared by Valentin Pokrovskiy. Cooperation and lively exchanges of ideas are very important for a successful solution to the major problem, he pointed out.

The AIDS situation is relatively good in the USSR. There is one AIDS patient in the country and fifty-six people are infected with the AIDS virus. These are mainly people from among the so-called risk groups whose indiscriminate sexual contacts led to the deplorable outcome. All their contacts are under observation. There are, for example, 16 people in one 'string' of contacts.

A state-run AIDS combatting program is operated in the USSR. About 400 diagnostic laboratories carry out more than 1.5 million analyses every month. By the end of the year the number of such laboratories will be more than one thousand.

At present more than 40 research centres of the USSR study AIDS problems. The Americans will acquaint with the work of a number of them. [sentence as received] Apart from Moscow, the guests will go to Georgia, a Soviet republic in Transcaucasia.

U.S. Conference Examines Trade With USSR

LD1607152488 Moscow TASS in English 1104 GMT 16 Jul 88

[Text] New York July 16 TASS—A conference on the subject "Cooperating With the USSR" was held here. It dealt mainly with matters aimed at broadening trade-and-economic contacts between the Soviet Union and the United States. The conference was organised by the U.S. Practicing Law Institute to acquaint American firms with the most complex legal and practical issues that stand in the way of the strengthening of trade-and-economic contacts between the two countries.

Addressing more than 200 participants in the conference who represented various corporations of the country, including the AT and T International System, the Hunter Engineerings, Exxon, the General Atomic, and others. The chairman of the conference, Eugene Terex, one of the leading specialists of the Baker and McKenzie pointed out that the current process of renewal in the Soviet Union fully applied to the sphere of foreign trade, too.

He emphasized, in particular, that Mikhail Gorbachev's policy of glasnost became a signal for foreign firms' participation in Soviet economic projects. Such participation opens up great opportunities. Some American companies have already announced the establishment of joint ventures in the Soviet Union. Only a year ago this would seem unbelievable.

Mr Terex added, however, that political relations which have been established between the Soviet Union and the United States now, and of which the INF Treaty may serve as an example, and the successful summit meetings between the leaders of the two states laid a solid foundation for the realisation of joint trade and financial projects.

John Hardt, research development coordinator at the Library of U.S. Congress, likened the current process taking place in the USSR to an "industrial revolution". The process, he added, which involves considerable political and economic forces, is to raise in a large degree the quality of industrial production. His opinion is that Soviet-American joint ventures could play an important role in this respect.

U.S. Senators Arrive in Leningrad From Ireland

LD1607154388 Moscow TASS in English 1515 GMT 16 Jul 88

[Text] Leningrad July 15 TASS—U.S. Senators Phil Gramm, Richard Shelby and Stephen Sims arrived in Leningrad from Ireland today at the invitation of the Supreme Soviet (parliament) of the Soviet Union.

Phil Gramm, senator of Texas who is member of the Senate Committee on Armed Services, said that the main goal of their visit was to see with their own eyes what perestroyka and glasnost were like and what they meant for the Soviet Union and the international community.

He said the senators wanted to meet with Soviet leaders and common people to find out what they thought about the changes in this country.

The senators also wanted to know what new steps were taken to make Soviet society more democratic and broaden people's rights and freedoms, and about further efforts in this field. Shelby said that although they had spent only a few hours in the Soviet Union, their first impression was that Soviet people had become more open-hearted and friendlier.

Soviet-U.S. Peace March Ends in San Francisco

LD1607022388 Moscow TASS English 1404 GMT 15 Jul 88

[Text] San Francisco July 15 TASS—TASS special correspondent Maksim Knyazkov reports:

A mass meeting outside the municipality building rounded off here the Soviet-American peace march on Thursday.

The peace marchers traversed thousands of kilometers of difficult roads on the territory of eight American states, they had hundreds of meetings with politicians and public leaders of the United States, rank-and-file Americans who have sincere interest in the Soviet Union. In towns and settlements of the U.S. Eastern and Western coasts and also Midwest 220 Soviet peace marchers told local residents about the Land of the Soviets, the perestroyka process which is gaining in strength, the Soviet people's striving to live in peace and concord with other nations. The American press repeatedly noted that the Soviet peace marchers were the biggest public delegation which ever came to the United States from the USSR.

Senator Pete Wilson qualified the peace march as a great success. In a letter sent to the peace campaigners he underlined that by their participation in the unique march they promoted stronger friendship and better mutual understanding between the two countries. Your stay here, the exchange of experience and knowledge during the march from one coast of the United States to another have enriched America, said the senator, addressing the members of the Soviet delegation. You should know that in this country you left many new true friends, he said.

San Francisco Mayor Art Agnost put forward a proclamation in which he noted that the march provided to the Americans and Soviet people a unique possibility for a thorough and well-wishing discussion of major problems on which our countries have differences. Having made a joint historical march through the United States, you linked together the strivings of the two great peoples which experience common interest for each other and want to know more about each other. The mayor characterised the perestroyka process now under way in the USSR as the most daring and broad transformation and wished the Soviet people success in their work.

The Soviet-American peace march has undoubtedly become a step forward in the relations between the peoples of the USSR and the USA, said at the meeting Vyacheslav Sluzhivov, a representative of the Soviet delegation. We were able to meet rank-and-file Americans and tell them about our country, thereby helping destroy cold war time stereotypes. We were accorded a warm cordial reception, and we are grateful to the Americans for that. But we are parting not for long. A new Soviet-American peace march will begin on the territory of the Ukraine in August. Therefore we are not saying goodbye, and tell our American friends: "So long".

Yakovlev Receives Canadian Parliamentarians

LD1807141588 Moscow TASS in English 1322 GMT 18 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 18 TASS—Today Aleksandr Yakovlev, member of the Political Bureau, secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, received members of the Canadian Parliament Pauline Jewett, Duff Roblin and Marcel Prudhomme.

Some matters concerning Soviet-Canadian relations and the present-day situation in the world were discussed during the meeting which was held in a warm and friendly atmosphere.

The guests showed interest in the current restructuring process in the Soviet Union and in the results of the 19th All-Union Conference of the CPSU.

China

Joint Science Cooperation Talks Held

LD1807144888 Moscow TASS in English 1405 GMT 18 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 18 TASS—Priorities for the scientific and technological development of the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China are identical to a considerable extent, which creates a good basis for expansion of the two countries' contacts in this field. This opinion was expressed by Vladimir Yezhkov, deputy chairman of the Soviet Committee for Science and Technology, at the third session of the Soviet-Chinese permanent subcommission for scientific and technical cooperation. The session opened here today. The PRC delegation is led by Ruan Chong Wu, deputy chairman of the State Committee for Science and Technology.

For two days the Soviet and Chinese experts will be discussing the state of and prospects for the development of bilateral contacts and, as the main purpose, to determine ways for a substantial rise in their efficiency.

Vladimir Yezhkov emphasized in his speech that joint development and implementation of big scientific projects in such fields as nuclear power engineering, computing equipment, medicine and agriculture may be of the greatest benefit now. Direct contacts between scientific organisations of the border areas of the two countries are called upon to play a big role in this respect.

He pointed out that a transition from the exchange of information to direct contacts between the two countries' specialists became a characteristic feature of Soviet-Chinese scientific and technical contacts in recent years.

Cooperation programs for ten branches of industries have already been prepared. Prospects for joint research by scientific institutes of the Soviet Union and China are being studied, and preparation for the holding of the 'days of Soviet science and technology' in the PRC in November this year is being finalised.

PRC Reaction to CPSU Conference Assessed

LD1607101088 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 15 Jul 88

[Excerpts] [Levin] China is showing great interest in the results of the 19th all-union party conference. Our correspondent Vladimir Kulikov reports from Beijing:

[Kulikov] These days, just as when the conference was in progress, the Chinese press continues commenting on its decisions and discussing theoretical issues concerning socialist construction. [passage omitted]

Evidence of the interest shown in our party conference is provided by the meeting that was held in the Soviet Embassy in Beijing. Journalists from Beijing central newspapers published in Chinese and English, editors of journals, radio correspondents, and television and news agency representatives gathered in the conference hall. They were interested in the most diverse problems: the separation of party and state power, the system of the future election to soviets, and the reform of the political system.

The conditions in which reforms are being implemented in the USSR differ, of course, from those in China—and it would be very unwise just to follow each other's experience. It is obvious, nevertheless, that the problems facing China and those facing our country are similar in many respects. This creates an important sphere of mutual interest which is having and will inevitably have a positive influence on the further development of relations between the two states of ours.

I am flipping through the Beijing newspapers. They contain, among other things, material about the life of our country: Comrade Gorbachev's visit to Poland, a copy of a PRAVDA article on the nationalities question, problems of the economic reform, and a small piece on restoring Bukharin and Rykov to party membership. [passage omitted]

[Levin] Mutual interest has increased noticably lately. In China they are attentively following what is going on in the USSR, while we are trying to understand better the processes under way in China. The better we know each other the easier it will be for us to find a common language. It is pleasant, of course, that in China they show such a great interest in the 19th all-union party conference. We are, however, already thinking about ways in which we can implement its decisions.

Here is a question, for example—a number of questions even: What should a soviet of people's deputies be like? What rights do soviets need to make them real masters in their oblasts, cities, or villages? What will be the relationship between the soviet and the executive committees which will not be part of the soviets in the future? These questions undoubtedly begin to face us when we reread again and again the resolution of the 19th all-union party conference on the democratization of Soviet society and the reform of the political system. [passage omitted]

Chinese Parliamentary Delegation in Moscow

LD1807171288 Moscow TASS in English 1520 GMT 18 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 18 TASS—A Chinese delegation of the Legislation Commission of the National People's Congress arrived in Moscow today at the invitation of the Commissions of Legislative Proposals of the Chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The delegation is led by Sun Rufen [name as received], deputy chairman of the commission.

PRC Trade Union Delegation Visits USSR

OW1607132688 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 13 Jul 88

[Text] China's trade union delegation, headed by Meng Xun, president of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, is visiting Moscow at the invitation of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions of the Soviet Union. The delegation met with Makeyev, chairman of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, who briefed the Chinese guests on the activities of the Soviet trade unions in realizing the goal of reform and accelerating the pace of socioeconomic development.

PRC Friendship Delegation Arrives in Moscow

OW1507141988 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 8 Jul 88

[Text] A delegation from the Chinese People's Association for Friendship With Foreign Countries and the China-USSR Friendship Association arrived in Moscow on 7 July for a visit at the invitation of the USSR Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries and the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Society. The delegation is led by Wu Xiuquan, president of the China-USSR Friendship Association and a noted public figure.

In addition to Moscow, the delegation will also visit Leningrad, Riga, and Yalta. It will try to understand all aspects of the Soviet people's life. It will meet with leaders of the USSR Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries, the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Society, and their local branches.

Members Meet With Counterparts

OW1507142888 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 8 Jul 88

[Text] Tereshkova, chairman of the presidium of the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries, received a delegation

of the Chinese People's Association for Friendship With Foreign Countries and the China-USSR Friendship Association on 8 July. The Chinese delegation was led by Wu Xiuquan, president of the China-USSR Friendship Association.

Tereshkova briefed the Chinese guests on the achievements of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference. The two sides held friendly talks on further developing and deepening their relations. Tikhvinskiy, chairman of the central council of the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Society, and Yu Hongliang, Chinese ambassador to the Soviet Union, participated in the talks.

The Chinese delegation also visited the Kremlin and a museum on the same day.

Current Ties Discussed

PM1907081188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report under "Official Reports" rubric]

[Text] A Chinese-Soviet Friendship Society delegation headed by Wu Xiuquan, chairman of the Chinese-Soviet Friendship Society and member of the CPC Central Advisory Commission Standing Committee, is in the Soviet Union at the invitation of the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries and the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Society.

Questions of the development of Soviet-Chinese ties at friendship society level were discussed at a meeting with V.V. Tereshkova, chairman of the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries, and Academician S.L. Tikhvinskiy, chairman of the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Society Central Board. Yu Hongliang, PRC ambassador to the USSR, was present.

Official Interviewed

OW1507143188 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 13 Jul 88

[Text] During an interview with the Leningrad television station, Wu Xiuquan, president of the China-USSR Friendship Association and member of the CPC Advisory Commission, said: Sino-Soviet friendship, which temporarily suffered some setbacks during the Cultural Revolution, now has been strengthened. The Leningrad television station carried this report in its evening news program on 12 July.

The delegation from the China-USSR Friendship Association is making a goodwill visit in the Soviet Union at the invitation of the USSR Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries and the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Society. The delegation met with Tereshkova, chairman of the presidium of the USSR Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries, and with Tikhvinskiy, chairman of the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Society. At those meetings, the two sides discussed how to increase contacts between the amity organizations of the two countries.

Visits to Leningrad, Latvia

OW1807071088 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 15 Jul 88

[Excerpts] The delegation of the Chinese People's Association for Friendship With Foreign Countries and China-USSR Friendship Association, led by Wu Xiuquan, noted Chinese state affairs and social activist and president of the China-USSR Friendship Association, is on a study tour in various areas of the Soviet Union. Right now the delegation is visiting Riga, the capital of Latvia.

Earlier, the visitors made a 3-day stay in Leningrad where they acquainted themselves with the life and work of the people of Leningrad and toured the city's places of historic interest and scenic beauty. At (?Beskonal Lake), the Chinese delegation paid silent tribute to the soldiers and people who laid down their lives in defense of the city during the Great Patriotic War against fascism. Popov, chairman of the Leningrad Oblispolkom, held talks with the Chinese delegation. Comrade Popov also briefed the Chinese delegation on the Leningrad people's efforts to implement the resolution of the 27th CPSU Congress, the reforms affecting every area of life in the Soviet society and the overall development of Leningrad City and Leningrad Oblast targeted for 2005.

Our reporter stationed in Leningrad asked Comrade Wu Xiuquan, leader of the delegation, what impressed him in Leningrad. [passage omitted]

Another question: Comrade Wu Xiuquan, what did you talk about with regard to the contacts between the friendship associations of our two countries?

[Begin recording] As for the relations between the Chinese and Soviet friendship associations, they no doubt will continue to develop day by day. The Chinese and Soviet friendship associations have signed an agreement on what they expected to achieve in 1988. We believe our plan will be fully fulfilled. We even expect to overfulfill our plan. [end recording]

Northeast Asia

U.S. Delivers Weapons to Misawa Air Base

OW1607003288 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 14 Jul 88

[Text] According to a report from Japan's KYODO, very secret operations to transport weapons from Hachinohe Port to Misawa Air Base were under way this morning

under stringent precautions. U.S. F-16 fighter-bombers, which are capable of carrying nuclear weapons, are now deployed at Misawa Air Base.

As many as 57 large trucks were chartered for the transportation operations. Among the weapons being transported to Misawa Air Base, 20 km northwest of Hachinohe Port, are 2,000-ton bombs and various equipment for F-16 fighter-bombers. Recently U.S. forces have transported a total of 4,200 tons of various equipment for the 50 F-16 fighter-bombers at Misawa Air Base.

This Thursday morning people from the JCP [Communist Party of Japan], the JSP [Japanese Socialist Party], and various organizations opposing the U.S. military bases staged a mass rally at Hachinohe Port.

DPRK Delegate's Criticism of U.S. Cited

LD1607015388 Moscow TASS in English 1930 GMT 15 Jul 88

[Text] Pyongyang July 15 TASS—The DPRK's chief delegate, Major General Yi Tae-ho, demanded an end to the build-up of American Armed Forces and their armaments in the south of the Korean peninsula and strict compliance with the agreement on truce in Korea. He was speaking today at the military commission on truce in Korea, which held a joint meeting at P'anmunjom on the military demarcation line dividing north and south.

Yi Tae-ho condemned the recent increase to 48,000 men in the United States troops in the south of the peninsula and plans to supply to South Kroea 3.3 billion dollars worth of armaments before the end of this year, including advanced aircraft and radars. The DPRK representative spoke against Washington's and Tokyo's plans to hold the American-Japanese military manoeuvres during the 1988 Olympic Games, during which the Japanese side has been reported to mobilise some 30,000 servicemen, 200 combat aircraft and 170 vessels.

He stressed that the armaments build-up in South Korea, and the holding of the American-South Korean military exercises with the participation of the entire South Korean armed forces poses grave danger to peace and security on the peninsula.

Economic Cooperation in DPRK Border Areas

SK1707101988 Moscow International Service in Korean 1330 GMT 29 Jun 88

[From the "Today's World" program]

[Text] Sergey Petrov, deputy councillor of the Soviet trade mission in the DPRK, will now speak through our station:

[Begin Petrov recording in Russian, fading into Korean translation] Cooperation between cities in the Far Eastern provinces of the Soviet Union and the northern cities of the DPRK is developing. This cooperation is effected in various ways and [words indistinct].

A meeting of the Soviet-Korean Inter-Governmental Committee for Economic Cooperation in the Far East was held in March. We are making efforts to implement the decisions reached at this meeting. Both sides are actively making efforts to bring about concrete results.

For example, the (Raiswipron) Manufacturing Complex in the Far East and the Nungnado Company of the Pyongyang Municipal Economic Management Guidance Committee is already (?seeking) to form direct relations. Enterprises in Pyongyang will produce various types of clothing for the Soviet Union. Cloth and other materials necessary for production will be supplied.

[Words indistinct] and work is also carried out well in agriculture. I will talk about the Korean workers' growing of [word indistinct] and vegetables in the Far Eastern area of the Soviet Union. In early May, delegations of Primorskiy Kray and Amur Province visited the DPRK and decided upon various principles in an agreement on this. We will provide work units of Korean workers with paddies and will pay the price for their labor with some of the products.

We will also develop such relations in the construction field. DPRK technicians will build inns and social and cultural facilities in Nakhodka, Khabarovsk, and Vladivostok. We have provided blueprints for these buildings to our Korean comrades in advance and, therefore, they had the opportunity examine them. Specific details and technological problems will be resolved at the actual construction sites.

There are also other sectors of cooperation in the border area. They include establishing joint-venture companies, direct commodity exchanges, and cooperatively developing the light-industrial sector. Exchanges of delegations and official letters are collectivized. However, not everything is going smoothly. A number of matters have not yet been resolved. Of course, these matters hinder the development of cooperation in the border area. Regrettably, some central institutions and organizations [words indistinct], and some of our individual leaders [chidoja] are irresolute and have little experience. This affects [our task]. However, I believe that all of these difficulties are just temporary. Generally speaking, economic cooperation between our two countries is experiencing a stable period. [end recording]

Shultz Arrival in ROK Reported

LD1607152188 Moscow TASS in English 0854 GMT 16 Jul 88

[Text] Tokyo July 16 TASS—U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz arrived in South Korea today on a tour of a number of Asian countries.

During the three-day stay in Seoul he will hold talks with President No Tae-u and other representatives of the ruling regime, and figures of major opposition parties. In the opinion of diplomatic circles in Tokyo, the visit, which follows last month's visit to South Korea by U.S. Secretary of Defence Frank Carlucci, pursues, specifically, the aim of showing Washington's support for the present South Korean Administration.

The KYODO TSUSHIN news agency is of the opinion that main attention at the talks will be given to South Korea's relations with the DPRK and other countries. Matters concerning the holding of the summer Olympic Games, the internal political situation in South Korea as well as intensifying trade-and-economic contradictions between Washington and Seoul will be discussed as well.

The local press draws attention to the existence of strong anti-American sentiments in South Korea. A powerful wave of student demonstrations swept the country in recent months. The demonstrators held Washington responsible for the split of Korea and demanded that U.S. troops stationed in the south of the Korean peninsula be withdrawn.

At the close of the visit to South Korea, the U.S. secretary of state will arrive in Japan.

Soviet Olympic Attache Regrets North's Boycott

SK1907000188 Seoul THE KOREA HERALD in English 19 Jul 88 p 11

[Text] The Soviet Union firmly believes the Seoul Olympics will be held safely and sucessfully, the Soviet Olympic attache said here Sunday.

Nikolay Lents told a press conference at the Olympic Center just before winding up his six-day visit he rates as excellent the security capabilities of the Korean Government and the Seoul Olympic Organizing Committee.

"The Soviet Union would have not decided to come to Seoul if the 1988 Seoul Olympic was judged unsafe," said Lents, who is the chief of the Soviet National Olympic Committee's Olympic preparation department.

The 33-year-old Olympic official also discounted the possibility of sabotage at the Games. "It would be very stupid for any individuals or groups to disrupt the Seoul Olympics."

Lents, who will open his liaison office in Seoul next month, disclosed that the Soviet Union and North Korea held a series of talks about the latter's participation in the Games in March and April.

"Whether North Koreans are coming or not, that's their problem," Lents said. "But in my personal view, it's very regrettable for them to miss the Olympic Games which is held at a four-year interval."

The Olympic official said that the Soviet people believe that the Seoul Olympics will provide an opportunity for establishing world peace and for consolidating friendship and goodwill among the world villagers.

The attache said the number of Soviet official delegates to the Seoul games will be about 800 plus 180 extra officials. The Soviet Olympic representatives in some sports have not yet been finalized.

Lents denied a report of the Soviet Olympians possible training in North Korea.

"Soviet Olympic teams plan to conduct most of their acclimatization training in Vladivostok and Havaropsk (in the Soviet Union), which have no time differences from Seoul. Some of them will also have pre-Olympic training in Japan and Europe. We have no plan to send our athletes to North Korea," he said.

In addition to the competitors and officials, 200 to 300 tourists, mostly from sports communities, will come to Seoul for the Olympics, according to the Soviet official.

Lents said that many Korean-Soviets will accompany the Soviet Olympic team, some of them as competitors and others as support personnel.

"They will be very helpful in such services as interpretation, news coverage and others," he concluded.

Lents plans to return to Seoul Aug 22 in advance of the arrival on Sept 4 by ship and on Sept 7 by air of the first members of the Soviet Olympic team.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Naval Exercises Held in South China Sea

LD1507152788 Moscow TASS in English 1501 GMT 15 Jul 88

[Text] Singapore July 15 TASS—Australian warships, including a submarine, today joined warships of New Zealand, Britain, Malaysia and Singapore for major naval exercises Starfish-88 which are to begin in the South China Sea next week.

The FRANCE PRESSE NEWS AGENCY reports that the task of the annual exercises, held for the eighth time, is to render assistance to Singapore and Malaysia in testing anti-submarine operations with the support of aviation. The exercises will be conducted under the observation of U.S. naval experts. U.S. nuclear-powered aircraft-carrier Carl Vinson and eight escort ships are expected to arrive here. They will then participate in the forthcoming joint exercises of the United States and Thailand.

USSR Reportedly Ready To Attend Jakarta Talks

BK1607055088 Hong Kong AFP in English 0528 GMT 16 Jul 88

[Text] Tokyo, July 17 (AFP)—The Soviet Union is ready to take part in an international conference to settle the Cambodian problem, a newspaper said here Saturday.

Japanese Foreign Minister Sosuke Uno and Prince Norodom Sihanouk, who announced his resignation as leader of the Cambodian resistance on Monday, made the proposal during a meeting in Bangkok earlier this month between foreign ministers of Southeast Asian nations and their major trading partners.

The MAINICHI SHIMBUN quoted Soviet sources in Tokyo as saying that the Soviet Union was ready to play a role as international protectors with other members of the United Nations Security Council in order to secure peace in Asia.

Moscow was also ready to attend the proposed international conference "if necessary," the report quoted the sources as saying.

KPRP Delegation Ends Visit, Meets Medvedev

LD1807223888 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1730 GMT 18 Jul 88

[Text] In accordance with the cooperation plan between the CPSU and the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party [KPRP], a KPRP delegation, headed by Men Saman, member of the Politburo and secretary of the party's Central Committee, visited the Soviet Union 7-18 July.

The Cambodian comrades acquainted themselves with the experience of the CPSU's organizational party work under the conditions of restructuring. Conversations took place at the department of organizational party work of the CPSU Central Committee, and the delegation visited the Kazakh SSR, where it held meetings and conversations with the leadership of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee, the Alma-Ata obkoms and gorkoms, and the republic's higher party school. The Cambodian comrades also acquainted themselves with the work of the Orel oblast party organization, and visited industrial and agricultural enterprises.

The delegation was received today by Medvedev, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. During their conversation the delegation members were informed about work to implement the decisions of the 19th all-union party conference, the results of Comrade Gorbachev's visit to Poland, and the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee meeting. There was also an exchange of opinions on cooperation between the two parties, and on questions linked with the development of the situation concerning the Cambodian problem.

Report on Philippine Legislators' Visit

PM1807193188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 4

[Unattributed "Joint Report on Visit to USSR by Philippine Congress Delegation"]

[Text] A delegation from the Philippine Congress Senate and House of Representatives led by leader of the Senate majority O. Mercado was in the Soviet Union 4-13 July on an official visit at the invitation of the USSR Supreme Soviet. The delegation consisted of Senators L. Shahani, H. Alvarez, S. Laurel, A. Pimentel, and H. Tanada, and members of the House of Representatives F. Payumo, C. Alfelor, R. Andaya, F. Aniag, M. Puy, L. Tirador, and V. Chavez.

The delegation was received by A.A. Gromyko, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. Meetings and conversations took place with A.P. Biryukova, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and Yu.N. Khristoradnov and A.E. Voss, chairmen of the USSR Supreme Soviet chambers.

The Philippine parliamentarians laid wreaths at the V.I. Lenin Mausoleum and the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier by the Kremlin wall.

Besides Moscow, the guests from the Philippines visited the Uzbek SSR and Leningrad, where they learned about the activity of local organs of state power and toured industrial and agricultural enterprises.

During conversations which took place in a frank and friendly atmosphere and in a spirit of mutual understanding, the Soviet and Philippine representatives exchanged information on the activity of both countries' parliaments and discussed current international problems and questions of bilateral relations.

The delegation members were briefed on the present stage of restructuring in the Soviet Union directed at renewing all spheres of social life, conducting a radical economic reform, and implementing the profound democratization of society.

The Philippine parliamentarians expressed their admiration at the bold and all-embracing work on restructuring being carried out under the CPSU's leadership, and noted the opportuneness of their visit to the USSR which had taken place immediately after the 19th party conference. They talked about the measures being taken by the Philippine Government under the leadership of President C. Aquino for the country's all-around socioeconomic development, and also about the basic directions of its foreign policy activity.

Giving an assessment of the contemporary international situation, the sides stressed that it is characterized by the development of positive tendencies, by a gradual turn

away from confrontation toward recognition of mutual interests and the assertion of the new political thinking in the world. They noted the important role which all countries great and small, irrespective of their political and social orientation, are called on to play in strengthening international security.

The Soviet and Philippine parliamentarians registered with approval the coincidence of their countries' positions on the majority of the cardinal problems of today. They spoke firmly in favor of halting the arms race—both the nuclear and conventional arms race—reducing the threat of war, and strengthening universal peace and security. Note was made here of parliament's growing role in the search for ways leading to lasting peace and international stability and to mankind's deliverance from the nuclear threat.

They also reached agreement on the necessity to expand the framework of bilateral relations and create the appropriate mechanism for this. Noting with satisfaction that the treaty on the elimination of two classes of nuclear missiles concluded between the USSR and the United States is opening up a new stage in the life of mankind and the prospect of real nuclear disarmament, the Soviet and Philippine parliamentarians advocated continued efforts in the direction of radical reductions of Soviet and U.S. nuclear arms, primarily strategic offensive arms. An important stage on this path was, in their opinion, the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting in Moscow, which reflected the strengthening process of the improvement of international relations.

The sides made a thorough analysis of regional problems and advocated the swiftest peaceful political settlement of conflict situations. In this context they noted the great significance of the documents signed in Geneva on the settlement around Afghanistan.

The conviction was expressed that the Cambodian question must be resolved exclusively by political, peaceful means, via a policy of national reconciliation in Cambodia.

The sides agreed that it is necessary to assist with practical steps the strengthening of peace and security in the Asia-Pacific region. In their opinion, this will be promoted by the setting up of broad, equitable, and mutually advantageous cooperation among all the states located there.

The Philippine parliamentarians welcomed the account of the USSR's policy in the Asia-Pacific region contained in the speech made by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, in Vladivostok and in his answers to the newspaper MERDEKA.

The Philippine representatives gave their assessments of the situation taking shape now in Southeast Asia. In this context the parliamentarians stressed that the ASEAN countries approved the principles of creating a zone of peace, freedom, and neutrality in Southeast Asia. It was also noted that in this connection the Philippine Senate has approved a bill to strengthen and consolidate the antinuclear provisions of the Philippine Constitution.

The sides exchanged opinions on a broad range of questions causing mutual concern, such as assistance to the developing countries in paying off their debts, the burial of nuclear waste, and the ecology.

In discussing Soviet-Philippine relations both countries' legislators expressed their determination to expand and deepen friendly bilateral ties on the basis of sovereign equality, mutual respect, noninterference in each other's internal affairs, and mutual benefit.

They expressed confidence that the upcoming official visit to the USSR by Philippine President C. Aquino will have a significant influence on their development.

They stressed the necessity of further galvanizing trade and economic relations between the USSR and the Philippines, which would be assisted by fuller utilization of the existing potential and the search for new avenues and forms of cooperation, in particular, completion of the joint projects already mooted and possible future projects, including those relating to the program for developing the USSR's Far East regions.

The mutual desire was expressed to assist in developing exchanges in the sphere of trade and agriculture, science and technology, sport and tourism, and culture, and also among social organizations, with the aim of strengthening mutual understanding and friendship between both countries' peoples.

The representatives of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Philippine Congress also noted the importance of increased activity by and exchanges between the "USSR-Philippines" and "Philippines-USSR" friendship societies for achieving the said aims.

Stress was placed on the importance of continuing contacts between the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Philippine National Congress, and also of holding regular Soviet-Philippine consultations making a significant contribution to reaching greater mutual understanding and developing friendship and cooperation between the Governments and peoples of the USSR and the Philippines.

The representatives of the Philippine Congress issued an invitation for a USSR Supreme Soviet delegation to make a reciprocal visit to the Philippines at a time suitable for both sides. The invitation was received with thanks.

The Philippine parliamentarians expressed their sincere gratitude for the warmth, friendship, and hospitality shown to them in the Soviet Union.

SRV Party Leader Arrives for 'Holiday'

LD1507163588 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1610 GMT 15 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow, 15 Jul (TASS)—Nguyen Van Linh, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam, arrived in the Soviet Union today for a holiday. He has been invited by the CPSU Central Committee.

Near East & South Asia

Iran's Velayati on Airbus, Compensation

LD1707064388 Moscow TASS in English 0630 GMT 17 Jul 88

[Text] Vienna July 17 TASS—The United States' military presence in the Persian Gulf area entailed an aggravation of the conflict between Iran and Iraq, 'Ali Akbar Velayati, Iranian minister of foreign affairs, stated here. During a stopover here on his way from New York to Tehran, he met with Alois Mock, Austrian minister of foreign affairs, on Saturday.

Velayati pointed out that Iran insisted that the United Nations Security Council adopt a resolution on the actions of the United States whose warship shot down an Iranian civilian airliner with almost 300 passengers on board over the Persian Gulf.

At the same time he emphasized that Iran regarded as an insufficient thing the material compensation offered by the United States to the relatives of the passengers of the airliner.

Najibullah Speaks on Accords, 'Terror'

PM1807115488 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 3

[TASS report: "President Najibullah's Address"]

[Text] Kabul, 17 Jul—President Najibullah of the Republic of Afghanistan has spoken on Afghan radio and television on questions of the implementation of the Geneva accords and the policy of national reconciliation.

For a long time Kabul has been the target of extremist terrorist activity. For 10 years, the president said, waves of terror have surged over residential districts, state institutions, schools, and hospitals. But in the last 3 months the scale of this criminal activity has particularly increased. In the last few days explosions in Kabul have killed 20 people, and many civilians have been wounded. In all, in the period from 30 April through 15 July, 167 rocket shells were fired at the city, as well as 30 mines, and 63 explosions occurred, as a result of which 139 people were killed and 170 wounded.

The Republic of Afghanistan, Najibullah went on, has honorably fulfilled its commitments under the Geneva agreements since the moment they came into force, which cannot be said for Pakistan. Opposition groups continue to be sent from its territory, and caravans carrying weapons come into Afghan territory, particularly into the provinces of Konarha, Nangarhar, Paktia, Paktika, Zabol, Qandahar, and Kabul, as well as Khowst District. In this connection the Afghan Government is continuing to send notes to the UN observers' group, enumerating instances of violation of the Geneva accords. Despite the decisions adopted, the Pakistani Administration turns a blind eye to the activity of the so-called "transitional government" in Peshawar, although it has not been officially recognized even by the commanders of opposition detachments and their members. We therefore once again call on Pakistani President Ziaul Haq to be guided by common sense in his work.

The shellings of civilian districts of the Afghan capital have demonstrated the extremists' malice over the fact that the Republic's armed forces inflicted crushing blows on them, even after the start of the withdrawal of the limited contingent of Soviet troops. In districts from which the Soviet troops have been withdrawn, the opposition has not been able to take a single city, big or small, the president noted.

The enemies' plans also include intimidating the supporters of reconciliation and weakening their will. By spreading slander, they try to poison public opinion and attribute the shellings to the Afghan Army and Soviet military units. Such assertions are utterly false and have no foundation whatsoever, Najibullah stressed. As president of Afghanistan, he went on, I declare that the shellings of the Afghan capital are carried out by rockets and mines made in the United States, Britain, Egypt, and China. It was with great regret that we saw the mark "Made in Egypt" on one unexploded shell.

The president once again appealed to the commanders of opposition detachments operating on Afghanistan's territory, proposing that constructive talks be held on the basis of the principles of mutual respect and consideration for national interests.

The policy of national reconciliation, Najibullah continued, has now become the cause of all Afghans. And we must unite in order to put it into practice as quickly as possible. The creation of a progressive, developed Afghanistan is the task of all true patriots. And nobody can remain aloof from this process. The international community's support for the Geneva accords is the achievement of the reconciliation policy, he stressed. The president once again expressed sincere gratitude to UN Secretary General J. Perez de Cuellar and his representative D. Cordovez for their efforts in the cause of settling the Afghanistan situation.

The Afghan leader described as an achievement of the reconciliation policy the holding of democratic elections to the Republic's National Council, the formation of a coalition government, and the vote of confidence for it

by the country's parliament. The participation of representatives of all the country's progressive forces in this parliament is a manifestation of the people's will for peace and an end to war.

The president noted the important role played in the country's life by the Supreme Consultative Islamic Council, set up as part of the apparatus of the president of the Republic.

In conclusion, President Najibullah called on all Afghans who are far from home to return to Afghanistan.

Pakistani Violations of Accords Condemned
LD1807143288 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 17 Jul 88

[Text] Our correspondent Aleksandr Shkirando reports from Kabul:

[Shkirando] Afghanistan is now going through difficult days. Two months have passed since the Geneva agreements came into force, but armed intervention in the internal affairs of the country from Pakistani territory is not only continuing but even getting stronger. Anti-Afghan propaganda is also growing. Ziaul Haq, the president of Pakistan, is brazenly declaring that he dreams of making his prayers of gratitude to God twice in captured Kabul. (?Before) this, the so-called fighters for the faith have more than once stated actual times for the capture of Kandahar, Jalalabad, and Zabol. But their plans have so far not been implemented.

Of course the situation in the country remains rather complex. Yet, in talking with many Afghans I have realized that the absolute majority of them are against such leaders of the opposition as Gulbuddin Hikmatyar, Ahmad Shah, and the like.

For example, this is what one of the leaders of the Pushtun tribes, (Haji Bayazid), said in conversation with me:

[Begin (Bayazid) recording in vernacular with superimposed Russian translation] These people who have sold themselves to the United States and Pakistan also intend to sell the united, independent country of our fathers and forefathers. They declare shamelessly that if they gain power, the people of Pakistan can come to Afghanistan freely without a passport or visa. Their dark plan is the seizure of our motherland. [end recording]

So, in spite of the declarations of Diego Cordovez, the special representative of the UN secretary general—that from now on Pakistan will strictly observe the Geneva agreements—an undeclared war is still being waged against Afghanistan. It is quite understandable that in such conditions, that is, when our troops are being withdrawn and foreign intervention is being stepped up, the Afghan Armed Forces are faced with new serious tasks in defending the Republic. A PDPA Central Committee plenum was devoted to these questions. It decided in particular to strengthen the army by means of a party call-up.

The military operations carried out by the Afghan units in different provinces have shown that the Afghan Armed Forces are in a position to defend the territorial integrity and national sovereignty of their country by themselves.

Pakistan Taking 'Little Action' on Accords
PM1907085188 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS correspondent Yu. Denisov "Letter From Islamabad": "A Lot of Assurances—Little Action"]

[Text] The time that has passed since the Geneva agreements came into force has shown that their practical implementation is encountering serious problems, which are being caused by the Afghan armed opposition's sharply negative attitude and also by the Pakistani leadership's two-faced approach to fulfilling the pledges it made.

While declaring its commitment to the Geneva agreements and its readiness to implement them, Islamabad is in fact continuing its old policy of giving all-around support to the Afghan opposition, which has become entrenched on Pakistani territory. There have been no perceptible changes in Pakistan's policy toward Afghanistan in the post-Geneva period. As a whole, one gets the impression that Islamabad does not regard the Geneva agreements as a complex of interconnected accords designed to achieve a political settlement of the situation surrounding Afghanistan. Rather, they see it only as an agreement on the withdrawal of Soviet troops, thereby ignoring all other connected aspects.

Regarding the withdrawal of its troops from Afghanistan, the Soviet Union is fulfilling its pledges consistently and to the letter. Diego Cordovez, special representative of the UN secretary general who is here on a visit, drew particular attention to this fact during a news conference recently given in the Pakistani capital, expressing satisfaction that half of the Soviet troops will have been withdrawn by 15 August this year, as intended by the Geneva agreements.

But regarding the pledges made by Pakistan, whose signature is also on the Geneva documents, so far there have been a lot of unsubstantiated assurances and promises and little real action. As before, Afghan opposition organizations operate freely on Pakistani soil and their staff headquarters and information centers are still based in Islamabad, Peshawar, and Quetta. As before, our correspondence center regularly receives information bulletins distributed by the "Afghan Press Agency" which still has its offices in Rawalpindi. Furthermore, as we have already reported, at the beginning of June this

year representatives of the "Alliance of Seven" announced the opening of a new "Afghan News Agency" in Islamabad. The leaders of the groups incorporated in the alliance regularly hold news conferences at their staff headquarters—which are then given broad coverage in the Pakistani mass media—and give interviews, in which they continue to openly threaten the government in Kabul and praise the successes of the mujahidin. The lack of any attempt on the part of the local authorities to quash or limit this propaganda activity hostile to Afghanistan, which, incidentally, is stipulated in points 10 and 12 of the bilateral agreement between Afghanistan and Pakistan on the principles of their relations, can only serve as additional confirmation that the leaders of the mujahidin enjoy special patronage from Islamabad.

The situation has reached the point where G. Hikmatyar and other leaders of "the seven" have announced the formation of a "provisional government of Afghan mujahidin" in Pakistan, led by Ahmad Shah, and are now making active efforts to gain official recognition for this government.

Messages requesting recognition have already been dispatched to the leadership of Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, and other Muslim states. In a recent interview with the newspaper THE MUSLIM, Ahmad Shah said that they have received a positive response from some countries, with one provision, however: This government must function in Afghanistan.

As before, along the road through Rawalpindi to Peshawar you can meet convoys of dozens of heavily laden vehicles virtually every day. They are tightly covered with tarpaulin through which it is impossible to determine the nature of the load. Of course, you cannot dispute that these vehicles are possibly transporting food supplies, tents, and other articles needed by the refugees. However, vehicles just like these are still being used to supply weapons and combat equipment in huge quantities to the mujahidin. This has often been reported by the leaders of Pakistani opposition parties and trade union, student, and other organizations operating in North West Frontier Province and Baluchistan, which have indisputable evidence of this. In an interview with the newspaper FRONTIER POST on 8 July, former Senator Kauzar Niyazi [name as published], while commenting on Islamabad's stand on the Afghan problem, emphasized that under the Geneva agreements Pakistan should not allow the mujahidin to use its territory. It is a secret to no one, however, that Pakistan supplies the mujahidin with weapons from the United States.

Political opposition parties have long been aware of the danger posed to the country's national interests by Islamabad's continuing its adventurist policy toward Afghanistan. They are demanding with increasing persistency that the Pakistani Administration strictly observe the pledges it made in Geneva.

The return home for Afghan refugees from Pakistan—as intended by the Geneva agreements—has yet to assume a mass scale. According to Gul Aqa, consul general of the Republic of Afghanistan in Peshawar, some 90 percent of the Afghan refugees in Pakistan want to return home. The attitude in favor of speedy resettlement which prevailed among the refugees immediately after the signing of the Geneva agreements—when many of them began to sell off their property and acquire afghanis, the notes used as currency in Afghanistan, which caused their market value to soar—has gradually begun to wane. This has proved to be connected with the shortage of accurate information on the real situation in Afghanistan.

Information on the military operations, considerable devastation, human casualties, and destroyed wells and water supply systems, provided by members of the mujahidin returning from Afghanistan and new refugee arrivals, means that the refugees are in no hurry to return. There is also another factor exerting a restraining influence on them. The Afghan mujahidin, whose leaders are afraid that the basis for replenishing their depleted detachments will disappear as a result of the refugee resettlement, are still creating obstacles in the way of the refugees' return. Every method is being used to intimidate the refugees, including using arms and mining the roads and mountain paths leading to Afghanistan, and terminating aid and food supplies to those who, despite everything, would like to return to Afghanistan.

A UN goodwill mission has begun work in Islamabad under the leadership of Benon Sevan [name as published], who is also senior political adviser to Diego Cordovez, special representative of the UN general secretary, to promote the implementation of the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan. Despite the fact that he is busy, I managed to organize a short conversation with B. Sevan in a room at the Islamabad "Holiday Inn," where he currently has his office. B. Sevan said that the main aim of the goodwill mission is to help to bring the process begun in Geneva to its logical conclusion and to remove any problems arising on the way. The work of the members of the mission is risky, as they have to visit highly inaccessible regions where combat operations are still going on. Their position is made all the more complex by the fact that the rebels refuse to support or cooperate with UN efforts to establish peace in Afghanistan.

Under the present conditions, the possibilities of the UN goodwill mission creating a peaceful atmosphere in Afghanistan are very limited. It seems the successful solution of this very complex political task will largely depend on how strictly and conscientiously the Geneva agreements are implemented by all sides signatory to them, without exception.

Malikov Comments on U.S. Role in Afghanistan

LD1807190388 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 18 Jul 88

[Text] THE WASHINGTON POST, referring to U.S. Administration official sources, reported that Pakistan, with the agreement of Washington, has halted the flow of

almost all weapons being supplied by the United States to the Afghan opposition groups. Aleksandr Malikov is at the microphone:

This report, if it is correct, is at least a couple of months late. After all, the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan—according to which Pakistan was to block off all channels for supplies of weapons to the opposition groups—came into force on 15 May. What is more, as the U.S. admits, it has already supplied the opposition forces with so much weaponry that they have more than enough to wage combat operations for the next 3 or 4 years.

Also note that it is not the United States alone that is supplying weapons to the opposition. How much more important it would be if efforts were directed at expelling—as the Geneva agreements require—all opposition groups from Pakistani territory. This, incidentally, has not been done. Moreover, Pakistan, evidently not without Washington's blessing, has permitted the creation in Peshawar of a so-called transitional government in exile. So THE WASHINGTON POST report hardly bears witness to any substantial changes.

It is nevertheless symptomatic. Along with the fact that influential circles in the White House and CIA are still clinging to the idea that the United States will have a permanent influence on any leadership which comes to power in Afghanistan with the aid of their weapons, certain processes of a painful reassessment are evidently taking place in the U.S. Administration. On the one hand, this is taking place because there is the sorry experience of the past. On this basis, analysts such as David Newsome, director of the Georgetown University Institute of Diplomacy, are coming to an unambiguous conclusion: The United States is restricted in its ability to impose regimes exclusively according to its own taste, even if Washington does supply weapons in expectation of favors in return. On the other hand, the process of reassessment is inexorably affecting the situation in Afghanistan.

Everyone knows that the Soviet Union is conscientiously meeting the schedule for returning its troops home; they have already been withdrawn from 19 Afghan provinces. Another important point: It is becoming increasingly apparent that banking on the "Alliance of Seven" as a military and political force clearly does not justify itself. The armed groups under alliance, as President Najibullah confirmed in his latest speech, have so far just not been able to take a single provincial town. Their continuing disagreements have become noticeably more heated, and not just as a result of a struggle for power. It is for another reason, concerning the UN efforts toward possible new compromises which would end the civil war and reconcile all Afghans. Speaking at a news conference in Islamabad, Gaylani, current leader of the "Alliance of Seven," said that unlike the irreconcilable section of the opposition, he contends that doors to negotiations with anyone should not be closed.

The course of seeking ways for national accord and dialogue is also being followed persistently by Kabul. President Najibullah has again expressed readiness to settle all issues at the negotiating table, including talks with the representatives of the "Alliance of Seven." Washington cannot fail to see such a rapprochement of the sides' positions, which is taking clearer and clearer shape, although it is true that they are still on different sides of the barricades. In this connection THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR quotes a U.S. diplomat, who observed that the United States has enough sense to understand that it is not smart enough to influence events in Afghanistan and act as arbiter. In fact, it is time the United States realized, and not just in words, that it is the Afghans alone who have the monopoly on solving all issues and on determining the future of Afghanistan.

Israeli-Palestinian 'Confederation' Examined

PM1607132788 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 15 Jul 88 First Edition p 3

[A. Kiselev article: "The Near East: When Will Peace Come?"]

[Excerpts] The uprising of the Arab people of Palestine on the Israeli-occupied West Bank of the Jordan has been going on for 6 months. All the Israeli politicians' predictions that it is about to end, or at least to subside, have so far failed to materialize. The main cause of the uprising is the continuing Israeli occupation and the unwillingness of Israel's ruling circles to stop blocking the process of a comprehensive and just Near East settlement. This question is not subject to any doubt. The Palestinian uprising, having radically changed the situation both in Israel itself and on the occupied territories, has so far failed to bring about significant changes in Israel's stance, especially as regards a settlement. This is true. However, I will be so bold as to claim that as to its potential consequences, the uprising is probably the most significant event in the history of the Near East conflict since 1967. [passage omitted]

The uprising has demonstrated the flexibility, dynamism, and constructiveness of the Palestinian political leadership's stance on problems of a Near East settlement. Tel Aviv is claiming that the aim of the Palestinian resistance is the "destruction of Israel and its Jewish population," and is trying to justify its negative stance as regards the Palestinian problem with the Israeli state's "security interests." In response to persistent questions from U.S. journalists, [PLO Executive Committee Chairman] Y. 'Arafat has stated his readiness to recognize Israel, and has admitted the need for the existence of two states, a Palestinian and an Israeli state. He was hardly expressing his personal viewpoint. The chief editor of the influential Palestinian newspaper AL-FAJR, which is published in East Jerusalem, has said: "Peace means the existence of two states, Israel and Palestine, and the Palestinian territory must include the

West Bank of the Jordan and the Gaza sector." Many more utterances of this kind could be cited as an indication of the Palestinians' realistic stance.

In one of his interviews 'Arafat expressed what seems to me to be an interesting idea about an Israeli-Palestinian confederation. What does its attraction consist of? It would make it possible to resolve problems which at present seem insoluble—the problem of Jerusalem, the problem of the Israeli settlements, and the problem of the Palestinian refugees. If this idea were implemented, Jerusalem would become the single and indivisible capital of the Israeli-Palestinian state, with West Jerusalem as the capital of Israel and East Jerusalem as the capital of Palestine. As citizens of the Israeli-Palestinian state, the Jewish settlers would be able to live on the territory of the Palestinian state and, likewise, Palestinian refugees could, if they wish, return to their native places on the territory of Israel from which they were driven in 1948. Naturally, this is no more than a political fantasy so far, but it is not all that insubstantial.

The idea of an Israeli-Palestinian state has its supporters even in Israel. On 24 December 1987, that is, after the uprising had begun, 'Arafat received a letter from A. Hess, a deputy of the Israeli Knesset (parliament) representing the Mapai party, which was signed by 12 members of the Labor Party. It criticized government policy on the occupied territories and stated that Hess and like-minded people were carefully examining the question of the creation of an Israeli-Palestinian confederation.

The idea of the establishment of an Israeli-Palestinian state as such is not new. It was aired back in 1947. But its reemergence at this particular moment is symbolic and by no means coincidental. The main thing that the uprising has revealed is the fact that the Palestinians and the Israelis are, as it were, chained to each other and doomed to live side by side. Israel and Palestine have a common past, a common present, and a common future. By prolonging the tragedy of the Palestinian people Israel is prolonging its own tragedy. By denying peace to the Palestinians Israel has denied peace to itself for the past 40 years. Clearly, awareness of this fact is the main motive for the actions of that section of Israeli society which actively opposes government policy and favors ending the occupation, embarking on talks with the PLO, and setting up an independent Palestinian state. Members of Israeli public organizations such as "There is a Limit!" "Women in Black," "Twenty-One Years of Opposition to Occupation," "Peace Map," and others proceed from the fact that the occupation is destroying and deforming Israel, both the state and society.

On 22 May the U.S. newspaper THE WASHINGTON POST published an article by J. Sigal [name as published] a research worker at Maryland University and founder of the Jewish committee for Israeli-Palestinian peace, under the headline "A Cardinal Plan for the Establishment of Near East Peace." Drawing an analogy with the history of the foundation of Israel, Sigal sets out a detailed plan for the creation of a Palestinian national state in prevailing conditions wherbye the Israeli Government is refusing to recognize and comply with the right of the Arab people of Palestine to self-determination. According to his opinion, the Palestinians should create their state without prior arrangement, without waiting for Tel Aviv's or anyone else's agreement. Sigal ends his article with the following remark:

"Should people feel surprised that a Jew finds it necessary to express his views on how the Palestinians could achieve success in their struggle for statehood, I feel obliged to state my conviction that the struggle for an independent Palestinian state is simultaneously also a struggle for a humane Israel able to live in conditions of security...."

Well said!

Egyptian Parliamentarians Visit Latvia

LD1807225988 Moscow TASS in English 1751 GMT 18 Jul 88

[Text] Riga July 18 TASS—Building a bridge between even the remotest countries is a task that may be beyond the powers of construction workers but not politicians, Rif'at al-Mahjub, speaker of the People's Assembly of Egypt, said in a TASS interview.

He is leading an Egyptian parliamentary delegation which has visited Riga, capital of the Soviet Baltic Republic of Latvia.

Al-Mahjub's optimism can be easily understood: Relations between his country and the Soviet Union today are on the upward trend. Cultural and scientific contacts are getting brisker and trade is planned to grow 50 percent by 1990.

Broader and closer contacts between Latvia and Egypt also hold out much promise and the way for them is being paved by the perestroyka (restructuring) effort under way in the USSR.

Egyptian MP's, for example, showed an interest in the possibility given to a number of Latvian enterprises to deal directly with the external market.

When visiting the Adazi agrofirm specializing in milk and meat production, the guests could see it for themselves: Adazi maintains relations with partners in Hungary, Poland, Yugoslavia, Finland and Holland.

It has also been the first in Latvia to try on the funding principles of a joint-stock society.

During their three-day stay here the Egyptian parliamentarians familiarized themselves with different aspects of life in Latvia and saw sights in Riga and the Jurmala resort on the Baltic Sea.

They left for Moscow today.

Kamentsev Receives Indian Mines Minister

PM1607152388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Jul 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] On 13 July V.M. Kamentsev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, received M.L. Fotedar, Indian minister of steel and mines, who is visiting the Soviet Union at the invitation of the USSR Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy.

A conversation was held on questions of Soviet-Indian cooperation in the sphere of ferrous and nonferrous metallurgy and the prospects for its further development.

The conversation was held in a warm, friendly atmosphere.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Gorbachev Sends Telegram to Nelson Mandela

LD1707093188 Moscow TASS in English 0921 GMT 17 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 17 TASS—Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, has sent a telegram of the following contents to Nelson Mandela, leader of the African National Congress:

"Dear Comrade Nelson Mandela,

"I wholeheartedly congratulate you on your 70th birthday.

"It distresses one to realise that you mark the birthday in a prison dungeon into which you were thrown by the racists more than a quarter of a century ago. Through your fortitude and courage and unshakable devotion to the ideals of freedom you defied the abominable system of apartheid.

"You have become the symbol of resistance to the racist tyranny and showed for the whole world to see the indomitable aspiration of the oppressed people of South Africa for freedom and their determination to uphold their human dignity. Your comrades in the ranks of the African National Congress and other democratic organisations of the country wage a just struggle for the building of a society in which all South Africans—blacks and whites—will live in peace and concord. We wish success to them.

"Soviet people firmly demand your release, Comrade Mandela, and the release of all political prisoners in the Republic of South Africa. Our solidarity with the fighters against apartheid is inavariable.

"I give you a stong handshake."

Solidarity Committee Greets Nelson Mandela

LD1807193388 Moscow TASS in English 1720 GMT 18 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 18 TASS—"People who personify such profound moral values as freedom and human dignity enjoy unanimous support of the whole of mankind", says a message of greetings which has been sent by the Presidium of the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee to Nelson Mandela, outstanding figure of the national liberation movement of South Africa, on the occasion of his 70th birthday.

The message says that Soviet people press for immediate release of Nelson Mandela and of all political prisoners of South Africa. The message expresses confidence that the efforts of all upright South Africans and the broadest sections of the international public will make the Pretoria government open the doors of prisons and that Nelson Mandela and his associates will take a worthy place in the formation of the builders of a democratic non-racist South Africa.

UDF Officials Comment on Mandela Role

LD1507190488 Moscow TASS in English 1806 GMT 15 Jul 88

[Text] Harare July 15 TASS—TASS correspondent Yuriy Pichugin reports:

Nelson Mandela, leader of the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa is a symbol of the struggle for freedom not only for the millions of South Africans but also for the people of the whole world, said Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, who is one of the leaders of the United Democratic Front (UDF) of South Africa.

Nelson Mandela, who turned 70 on July 18, is languishing behind the bars for already over a quarter century, Allan Boesek said in a telephone interview with the TASS correspondent from Cape Town. Having sentenced the gallant fighter against the apartheid to a life term, the authorities hoped to erase his name from the memory of the people. Already a whole new generation has grown up who have never seen or heard Mandela's passionate statements, his appeals for equality and social justice. But, as ever, at present his ideas enjoy popular support and herein lies the power of Nelson as an outstanding personality.

As a mark of recognition of Nelson Mandela's role in the liberation struggle, in these days concerts and sports events will take place all over our country, Allan Boesak said. The largest of these events are scheduled in Cape Town as well as in Johannesburg and Durban. One cannot rule out the eventuality that at the last moment the authorities will ban even these cultural activities as they have done this with respect to gatherings and meetings to celebrate the remarkable date. Two days ago police raided the voluntary societies set up to prepare the

festivities and arrested many of their activists. With the present state of emergency and the ban on the activities of democratic organisations, Pretoria may adopt the most extreme measures.

Now Nelson Mandela undoubtedly plays the leading role in the South African society, the UDF leader said. And we want to mark the anniversary in a fitting manner to demonstrate this, to lend an even greater weight to the demands for Mandela's immediate release. One example of the successful actions of the democratic forces in this respect is that it was precisely the pressure of public opinion in South Africa and abroad that forced the government the other day to postpone sine die the execution of the "Sharpeville Six".

I had yet another telephone conversation with Paul David, an inhabitant of the township Verulam near Durban, who is organizer of the anniversary events in Natal Province. Recently Paul David set up a committee for the liberation of Nelson Mandela. Our objective, David said, to use all the means open to us in order to prove it to the government that the imprisoned ANC leader is actually the leader of the entire people. It is difficult to overestimate his popularity and authority, especially among the young who are prepared to face any deprivations and even death in fighting for freedom. The young people fully associate the word "freedom" with the name of Mandela.

I was able to get in touch with Beyers Naude, the honorary leader of the UDF, a few minutes before his departure for Cape Town. I fly there to take part in the popular festivities to mark Nelson's birthday, he said. And here, in Johannesburg, preparations for this major event are in full swing. Political meetings are banned and so, instead, a grand concert will be organised with the participation of leading performing artists on the eve of the jubilee. Even if authorities ban the concert, they are still unable to strangle the immense love and respect which millions of South Africans feel for the imprisoned Nelson Mandela.

Commentator Assesses Southern African Talks

MB1507134888 Moscow in English to Southern Africa 1800 GMT 14 Jul 88

[Commentary by Vladimir Petrov]

[Text] Another round of the four partite talks—Angola, South Africa, Cuba, and the United States of America—on the settlement of the situation in southern Africa has ended. The first step in the right direction: That is how the results of another round was characterized by the Western information agencies. First of all, they note that a document on the principles of peaceful settlement of the conflict in this region of the African Continent has been worked out. Details of this document are not being disclosed, because it should be approved by the governments of all interested sides. But the fact that the sides agreed to again meet at the beginning of August speaks a lot. For the first time in 2 months of the talks, General Antonio dos Santos Franca, the head of the Angolan delegation, said concrete drafts of agreements were worked out. He noted that the settlement of the conflicts would guarantee Angola, its security and the granting of independence to Namibia. Are there grounds for optimism, when one of the most inveterate conflict regions reach a settlement? Observers are voicing cautious opinions on the score, first of all, because both the Republic of South Africa and the United States of America continue to insist on linking the settlement and the granting of independence to Namibia with the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola. As is known, these forces are there conforming with the United Nations Charter, at the request of the local government. Cuban internationalists have rendered considerable help to the Angolan people in preserving its sovereignty from the encroachments of the internal reaction and external hostile forces.

And on the second question: Why did South Africa agree to adopt a basic document on settlement? Does it mean a change, or is it the [word indistinct] of the aggressive policy conducted so far by the republic? In South Africa, a protest against a senseless war against the African neighbors is growing for a long time already, and not only among the public, voices of reason are also sounding in the political circles. The South African Administration is beginning to understand the impossibility of the settlement of the question militarily. Undoubtedly, an important influence on the positive results of the fourth round of talks, was exerted by the position of the United States and the Soviet Union, which consider that a political settlement of the South African conflict should be held. Although the Soviet Union is not taking a direct part in the four partite talks, a Soviet observer, an executive of the Soviet Embassy in Washington, was present at the talks. Judging from the press conference of the assistant state secretary of the United States on African affairs, Chester Crocker, who took part in the talks, the United States do not intend, unfortunately, to stop their military assistance to the anti-Angolan grouping, UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola]. This naturally can hardly contribute to a search of a peaceful settlement of the situation in the African south. Common sense should win, and peace should come to the long-suffering land of Angola and Namibia.

RSA Student Views National Situation

MB1307173488 Moscow in English to Southern Africa 1800 GMT 6 Jul 88

[Interview with Helena Stritchken, a white South African student, by Igor Patovskiy; date and place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Patovskiy] Hello, everybody, this time it is me. In brief, for those who did not hear the first part of the talks with a student from South Africa, we were discussing the situation in her country as seen by a member of the white community, such as she is not a politician, neither

radical nor reactionary. We talked about changes in the country [words indistinct]. We do not think that they are [words indistinct] sufficient changes, and [words indistinct] conservative thinking [words indistinct] of the whites. [Words indistinct] by the Afrikaner history [words indistinct]. So we are going to discuss those changes in South Africa. [Words indistinct] because this is the view of a private person [words indistinct] views held [words indistinct] among the whites as the blacks. However [words indistinct] is one of the [words indistinct] which houses them. And so what changes are there, in what direction, and [words indistinct] what should they follow in demands by the ANC, or the view of Chief Minister Buthelezi, and should those changes [words indistinct]?

[Stritchken] [Words indistinct] communication with blacks and whites and a lot of friends of blacks and whites, and [words indistinct] to get opinions from both sides and be more or less objective. Because in any country you have the left-wing radicals and the right-wing radicals, and you have people in the middle who try and compromise these. And I think the best way to follow [words indistinct] way and try and get all opinions and to compromise [word indistinct]. And I think I can [word indistinct] objectively, because even though I [word indistinct] like South African and many of the black people [words indistinct] the media and the press and the sensation. [Words indistinct] the majority [words indistinct] you have the silent minority who are working for peaceful change, and then you have a small group of radicals who actually are the outspoken ones and get the publicity.

I would just demonstrate this. I would like to know about—to mention my point—Chief Minister Buthelezi visited America—the amount of publicity he got as a moderate black leader was [words indistinct] while [words indistinct] much more radical [words indistinct] and [words indistinct].

[Patovskiy] Since you mentioned the name of Chief Minister Buthelezi [words indistinct] controversial [words indistinct] Chief Minister Buthelezi or the ANC people.

[Stritchken] [Words indistinct] a lot of controversial opinions by every leader are whether white or black, you know, South African or Soviet Union, or American, which country, you know.

[Patovskiy] [Words indistinct].

[Stritchken] [Words indistinct] and I don't think....

[Patovskiy, interrupting] [Words indistinct] your country to help you. This is an appeal to [words indistinct] Chief Minister Buthelezi [words indistinct] is a puppet of the white minority.

[Stritchken] Definitely not. If he [words indistinct] has in his country [words indistinct] you will understand that as long [words indistinct].

I think he is being classified as that to get away from the fact that he is for peaceful change. People who want revolutionary change—they are inclined to say it was not that because [word indistinct] political opponent. Naturally, I mean, [words indistinct] counteracting a political opponent [words indistinct] second thoughts. I certainly don't think so. I think he had the insight, and he has the understanding from both the black opinion and also that he also considers the white opinion. And he cannot take away these two—they are very intertwined in the country. And, as he said, [word indistinct] South Africa is like a zebra. If you have the black side, you have the white side, but if you have the white side you are also going to have the black side because we are fully interdependent on each other.

[Patovskiy] You know [words indistinct] on phenomenon [words indistinct] and I know it. There is a a strong feeling in South Africa towards the question of reform and radical changes. There is a lot of, a lot of people are saying all any kinds of changes [words indistinct] presumed to being radical change to the abolishment of apartheid.

[Stritchken] But it is happening. That is exactly what is going to happen. You know [words indistinct] facilities are open to blacks and whites. There has been a lot of change in the country [words indistinct] discarded with that are discriminatory. And as I explained before that something must have [words indistinct] trying to change.

[Patovskiy] I want to ask you to be more particular more specific about it. What can [word indistinct] in practical terms in parliamentary [words indistinct]?

[Stritchken] [Words indistinct] to include not only the rights of [words indistinct] in previous years but also coloreds and Indians like the people that [words indistinct] South African change, but living in the country I can appreciate what has been. It has been a very big [words indistinct] for the right people, but it has also come with an amount of relief that it is finally taking place.

That is a start. The next [words indistinct] what they are trying to do is trying to include blacks in the system. At the moment blacks have their independent homelands where they can vote and only they vote and the whites have no rights to vote there. However, so many blacks live in cities, and so on, and the homelands are not really their home. So there has [words indistinct] a way for them to have participation in the first level of government as well, which is nothing less than right.

[Words indistinct] what a great many people do not understand is [words indistinct] countries like America and so on, the black population isn't one big united

group. You have all these different tribes and ethnic groups. To a certain extent they [words indistinct] their ideas and their cultures and their traditions, and their languages differ tremendously.

And in order to find a true [words indistinct], which is understandable for one wouldn't accept the other one's rule over it, because as a human right [words indistinct] a lot of differences, ideas that you can attach to that, but as a human [word indistinct] they also have their (?vote) to keep their identity as an ethnic group. I think eventually we will have to try and adapt the system where you have [words indistinct] Switzerland, you have minority and majority representation and [words indistinct] had all the right of all groups [words indistinct], because it wouldn't help replacing a bad system with a worse one.

[Words indistinct] group domination [words indistinct] in other words there has to be a compromise. And I think that is certainly starting to take place in the country, slowly but certainly, and that's why it takes a tremendous amount of time to achieve this, but if you consider the amount of change that has taken place in the last 5 to 10 years you will be absolutely amazed.

Also, within the people themselves their attitudes towards apartheid, their attitudes towards sharing power with all people. But when it is on the course for peaceful change, why do you want to go and [words indistinct] to the other side and have radical change and bloodshed, and it is so much better to work together in harmony and peace and [word indistinct] a new country [words indistinct] than have to destroy everything and start for scratch and try and build something. [Words indistinct] while [word indistinct] groups working together.

East Europe

Further on Gorbachev Official Visit to Poland

Second Speech at Warsaw Castle

LD1407165788 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1035 GMT 14 Jul 88

[Second speech by CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev at meeting with cultural representatives in Warsaw Castle—live in Russian with superimposed Polish translation]

[Text] I am prepared to accept the proposal [to cut short the discussion for lack of time]. Indeed, at the meeting here we have discovered what we are facing at the present time. We have many shortages, but the greatest shortage is of time. I regret that in drawing up the program we did not foresee this; that is a lesson for the future. I very highly value the possibilities of this meeting and even what has happened here. With such a tight schedule for the meeting, what we have heard here is exceptionally interesting. It is certainly always intersting to take part—or in any case to witness—when contact is acccompanied by an exchange of ideas. I would say that in this room there were (?many) differences of opinion. I know that when one speaks of people who think differently in our country, one wonders if (?this shouldn't be finished); but after all thinking differently is simply thinking in a different way. And having different ideas when considering great problems, great issues, serious questions, new questions, will always (?go on), because (?those) discussions examine phenomena, assessments, and this is always linked with [words indistinct], with the intellectual activity of specific people. And different ideas, if they are not political speculation—and this is included in that concept too, and should be recalled—different ideas and different [word indistinct] are the driving-force of spiritual and scientific-technical advance.

It was very interesting and important for me to witness here, even in the close framework of the meeting, the interesting exchange that took place in seeking solutions to those problems which jointly really concern us, and not only us. So I thank you for coming here with your interesting reflections. You spoke earnestly and with great interest.

I would just like to react to some statements which I heard here, first of all, fears connected with restructuring. I will not mention names because I am afraid of mispronouncing them, but thoughts were voiced here, including fears that restructuring and renewal will only be participated in by intelligentsia and that only the intelligentsia will be concerned—I think that this was in reaction to my invitation and my request to the intelligentsia of both countries to participate at moments when the fates of nations are being decided. I think that I used the time given me here to that purpose, to emphasize this idea, because this is a duty of the intelligentsia of our nations, who are the most thoughtful part of every nation. Serving the nation increases one's responsibility, particularly at turning points, but it does not mean that in this restructuring process there will be no working class, working people, farmers, peasants—this is the most important—there are many participants.

Recently I reacted to a certain statement by one of our prominent economists who very pessimistically assessed the first results of perestroyka and radical economic reforms. I said: Esteemed academicians, while we are [words indistinct] while you, among yourselves carry on such disputes, and now [words indistinct] nevertheless, the country lives and is undergoing transformation.

And this is that most important voice—the voice of the nation, of the working people—backing our perestroyka, for we should never lose sight of the working people or the intelligentsia. This work is very important; it is linked to the work, to the labor of the peasants, the workers; it makes it possible to ennoble their work, to make their work more productive. This solves a great many things; but the living, decisive voice belongs to the people.

And I must say that however difficult the passage of many things—among them economic reforms—it turns out that, though in the past we solved our problems by introducing the (?foreign policy factor) and we introduced a measure by which we expanded the sale of alcohol—which also served to fill our treasury—this was quite different from what is happening from now on. Now national income is rising thanks to industry, thanks to agriculture, thanks to investment projects. The real, healthy economic process has begun; and today we are achieving a 5-to-6 percent growth in the economy. And this, this is done by the people, who are now included in new relations—and they will be included still further starting January of next year, when the whole economy will go over to the principles of self-accounting, to new methods of management.

Of course, that is why we wish—and we understand—that the most important passengers on the train of restructuring are the working people—the working class and the peasants.

And one more thought about the allusion which I often hear, in our country as well—this allusion was also voiced here. Of course, it is a good thing to hold a discussion; it is a good thing to do this here as well, but one has to work. Certainly, in the Soviet Union we have been involved in talks, yet one has to work. I understand this. There are also quite a few people here who voiced this thought. There is a healthy element, a healthy thought here. But we shall keep to openness and discussion; otherwise, we shall not open up either the potential of the system nor the intellectual potential of our nation. We shall take care to do this even if it displeases some people, both in your country and in ours. This is my first answer.

Of course, you are right that one should—through the appropriate economic mechanisms and through political mechanisms—introduce the scientific and technological process into the restructuring program.

Everything is being restructured; that which effects restructuring—that is, structural changes—is in order to restructure our economic structure. Our most important aim is forcefully to put out science and engineering industry into motion. Great resources and investments have been directed toward this, and it is our priority.

It seems to me that as far as numerous issues raised here are concerned, the idea that it is necessary to act with greater confidence and to act faster along the path of understanding history, our common history, in order to make sure that our peoples have firm historical knowledge at their disposal, was voiced here in many speeches; and it was appropriate so to do. It will help us solve our current and future tasks. I do not like to go into detail here, but we have had many conversations on this subject with Comrade Jaruzelski, and many members of the delegations also examined these issues: how to impart a new nature to this process, how to arrive at new appraisals, and also how to make use of literature, new sources of which are being put at the disposal of qualified experts of Poland and the Soviet Union.

I think we are on the right path, but there is too little satisfaction, and there is a desire for better results. For my part, I support this aspiration.

But here I have noted another interesting question: What is the opinion of the general secretary on the role of the intelligentsia in religion? I have been asked to say something about religion. I think that we will accept the suggestion of Professor Suchodolski here, as it is a good idea, to publish this discussion, and that also make it possible for those who have not managed to speak today to say something. I will try to answer once again, in writing, quite simply the questions which were asked here. I think that in any case it was recorded on a tape recorder, and I will attempt not only to listen to it but to read the text. That will be more interesting, and that could be that book, which will be a good agent for joint efforts in this intellectual field on the path of cooperation.

Thank you for the meeting. I see that the meeting was necessary for us and also for you. And I end the meeting in the spirit of even greater understanding [applause] [word indistinct] Thank you for (?your attention).

Raisa Gorbacheva Visits Katowice

LD1707015088 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 16 Jul 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpts] Within the framework of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's official visit to Poland, a group of Soviet comrades has visited the Bielsko and Katowice Voivodships.

[Correspondent I. Kudrin] Oswiecim. The name of this little town in southern Poland is today known throughout the world. It is known as the site of the tragedy of millions of victims of the Hitlerite genocide. Raisa Maksimovna Gorbacheva and a group of CPSU Central Committee members visited the museum at Oswiecim and the former concentration camp of Brzezinka.

Museum director Kazimierz Smolon gave the visitors a talk. He himself was a courageous member of the underground and went through all the circles of the Oswiecim hell. [video shows Gorbacheva and her large entourage strolling through the complex and talking to the museum director via an interpreter]

An eternal flame burns on the territory of Oswiecim-Brzezinka. On behalf of the CPSU Central Committee general secretary, Raisa Maksimovna Gorbacheva and the CPSU Central Committee members laid flowers at

memorial sites: at the wall of death, in the crematorium, and at the monuments to the peoples of various countries and the Soviet people who fell victim to fascism.

On the same day, on behalf of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, flowers were laid at the monument to the heroes of the Silesian uprisings. [passage omitted]

Warmly and joyously, with music and flowers, the city of Katowice received the Soviet visitors. This is the city that is often referred to as the industrial heart of People's Poland.

The leaders of the voivodship party committee were handed a letter from the CPSU Central Committee general secretary addressed to the inhabitants of Silesia. In part, it reads: Dear Polish friends, with the most sincere feelings of affection for you, the inhabitants of workers Silesia, I would like on behalf of Soviet workers to give you equipment with which to receive our television programs. I hope that with its help, you will be able to understand better and more profoundly what Soviet people today live by, and how the revolutionary processes of restructuring are developing in our society. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev wished the workers of Silesia great success in the socialist renewal of People's Poland, happiness, and prosperity.

On behalf of the workers of Katowice, the leaders of the local party organization voiced their cordial thanks for the good wishes and the valuable gift. The emissaries of the Soviet Union had a warm and unconstrained talk with the people of the city.

[Begin Gorbacheva recording] We could not visit Poland without visiting these blood-soaked lands and paying tribute. Thank you for having come here today to meet us. Allow me to express my gratitude to you for your kind feelings and for your kind attitude toward the Soviet people. Thank you. [end recording]

Katowice Leader Remarks

LD1707013088 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0930 GMT 16 Jul 88

[Excerpts] According to reports from TASS correspondents in Warsaw, within the framework of the official friendly visit by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, to the Polish People's Republic, a group of Soviet comrades visited the museum at Oswiecim and the former concentration camp there. The delegation members laid flowers at the wall of death, in the crematorium, and at the monument to the peoples of various countries and the Soviet people who were tormented in fascist prisons.

In Katowice, on behalf of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, flowers were laid on the monument to the heroes of the Silesian uprisings. Along with the Soviet comrades was Gorywoda, candidate member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Katowice Voivodship party committee, to whom a letter was handed from CPSU Central Committee general secretary to the inhabitants of Silesia. [passage omitted]

Accepting the letter, Comrade Gorywoda expressed sincere gratitude on behalf of the workers of the Katowice Voivodship for the greetings conveyed and the valuable gift. He asked the wife of the CPSU Central Committee general secretary to convey fervent congratulations from the inhabitants of the area and wishes for success in implementing the programs of restructuring.

Polish Weekly Cited on Interview

LD1607124188 Moscow TASS in English 1154 GMT 16 Jul 88

[Text] Warsaw July 16 TASS—There was a warm atmosphere during a meeting of Raisa Gorbacheva with the editorial board of the popular Polish weekly "PRZYJACIOLKA" (THE FRIEND). The illustrated weekly which appears in two million copies, the biggest imprint in Poland, is sold out in no time as a great number of women want to consult it.

It is precisely the daily life of Polish women that was the main topic of Raisa Gorbacheva's conversation with journalists working with "PRZYJACIOLKA". They said that the editorial board's daily mailbag contains 300-400 letters in which the weekly's readers write about their cares.

Raisa Gorbacheva showed interest in the problems of family and upbringing of children, the daily living of Polish women. In their turn, members of the weekly's staff asked the guest about the changes that have taken place in the life of Soviet women in three years of the perestroyka drive.

It was noted at the meeting that there are many things in common in the life of women in the Soviet Union and Poland, also similar problems related to the processes of restructuring and renewal taking place in both countries. Women's magazines and other publications for women are called upon to help solve these problems. Raisa Gorbacheva asked the editorial board to convey cordial wishes of peace, well-being and happiness to the Polish women.

...The Lazienki Park situated in the centre of Warsaw is the favourite place for the rest of people in the Polish capital. The guest visited the Lazienki Palace situated in the middle of the park. Large numbers of unique olden furniture and canvases are kept there. But the main treasure and relic of the palace is the heart of Tadeusz Kosciuszko buried there.

In the Institute of Industrial Design in Warsaw the guest saw an exhibition of furniture designs for children of different ages and also of computer equipment used in artistic education of the young.

Raisa Gorbacheva's meetings with working people, workers in the arts and science of Poland were concluded by the visit to the place treasured by the people of Poland, Zelazowa Wola, where Frederic Chopin was born. [Moscow TASS in English at 1542 GMT on 16 July tansmits a corrected version of this story omitting this paragraph]

B. Jaruzelska accompanied Raisa Gorbacheva on her tour of the country and during meetings.

Gorbachev Departs Warsaw

LD1607154088 Moscow TASS in English 1527 GMT 16 Jul 88

[Text] Warsaw July 16 TASS—The General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev today left Warsaw for Moscow.

He was staying in the Polish People's Republic on an official friendly visit at the invitation of the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party Wojciech Jaruzelski and Poland's highest state authorities.

At the airport Mikhail Gorbachev and his wife were seen off by Wojciech Jaruzelski and his wife, member of the Political Bureau of the PUWP Central Committee, Chairman of Poland's Council of Minister Zbigniew Messner, Marshal of the Polish Sejm Roman Malinowski and other officials.

Member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR Eduard Shevardnadze, Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Vadim Medvedev and First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Belorussia Yefrem Sokolov left together with Mikhail Gorbachev.

Cables Jaruzelski From Plane

LD1607174488 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1625 GMT 16 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow, 16 Jul (TASS)—En route from Warsaw to Moscow, M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, sent from on board his plane the following telegram to Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PCPR Central Committee and chairman of the Polish Council of State:

"On leaving the territory of the fraternal Polish People's Republic, I express most sincere thanks for the hearty welcome to you, to the PZPR Central Committee, to the Council of State, to Communists, and to all working people.

"We take away unforgettable impressions of cordial meetings with the talented and hard working people of Poland, with its workers, intelligentsia, and young people.

"During the visit we have once again become convinced of the lifegiving strength of our friendship. Life itself demands the development and deepening of fraternal relations between the Soviet and Polish peoples for the sake of their common good, and in the interests of peace and socialism.

"Once again, an appeal by the socialist member states of the Warsaw Pact has convincingly come from the Polish capital to the peoples and governments of the West European countries to search for a way to joint security through disarmament and cooperation.

"From the bottom of my heart, I wish you and all the working people of Poland success in the socialist renewal of the country, happiness, and prosperity."

Welcomed Upon Return

LD1607223188 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 16 Jul 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev returned to Moscow from Warsaw today. Comrades Shevardnadze, Medvedev, and Sokolov returned with Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev.

At the airport, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and the members of the delegation were met by Comrades Vorotnikov, Zaykov, Ligachev, Slyunkov, Solomentsev, Yakovlev, Demichev, Maslyukov, Baklanov, Biryukova, Dobrynin, Lukyanov, Kapitonov—chairman of the CPSU Central Committee Central Auditing Commission—and other comrades. Also among the welcoming party was (Lukosz), Poland's charge d'affaires in the Soviet Union. [video shows Gorbachev and Raisa emerging from the plane; the welcoming party is shown; Gorbachev advances to shake hands with Ligachev, Solomentsev, Vorotnikov, and Slyunkov]

Gromyko, Ryzhkov, Yazov Depart Warsaw

LD1607154288 Moscow TASS in English 1532 GMT 16 Jul 88

[Text] Warsaw July 16 TASS—Andrey Gromyko, a member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and president of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Nikolay Ryzhkov, a member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR and General of the Army Dmitry Yazov, an alternate member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and defense minister of the USSR, left for Moscow today.

They were on the Soviet delegation attending the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member states here.

PZPR Official Receives Medvedev in Warsaw

LD1607141388 Moscow TASS in English 1342 GMT 16 Jul 88

[Text] Warsaw July 16 TASS—Josef Czyrek, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party (PUWP), met with Vadim Medvedev, secretary of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party (CPSU), here today.

They considered the further development of Soviet-Polish cooperation in the light of the results of the official friendly visit to Poland by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

The secretaries coordinated specific steps to implement accords reached during the visit.

Russo-Polish History's Sore Points Need Exposure

PM1407143188 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 13 Jul 88 p 15

[Interview with Wojciech Zukrowski, leader of the Polish Writers Union, by special correspondent Yuriy Shcherbak: "Writers and History"; date and place not given]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Yuriy Shcherbak: You are someone who has devoted so much of his strength and energy to the cause of strengthening Polish-Soviet friendship—what is your understanding of our common problems and tasks stemming from the joint declaration by M.S. Gorbachev and W. Jaruzelski signed last year?

Wojciech Zukrowski: Despite all the differences between us, we are encountering similar difficulties in the course of building socialism, and we are combating the same shortcomings. How much easier it would be to overcome these difficulties together!

Excessive caution and false concepts of tact have often made historians and writers keep quiet about painful questions. There have been wars, divisions, uprisings, and political killings in our history. That should not be covered up. Poles took Moscow and the Kremlin, and Russian sabers broke up workers' demonstrations on the streets of Warsaw. And, of course, there was the Polish-Soviet war. All references to the War of 1920 were even cut out of the collected works of Stefan Zeromski. If we want to read a good story about those times, we must turn to Isaak Babel's "Red Cavalry." But we have two stories by Stanislaw Rembek: "The Revolver" and "In the Field." The first is beautifully written: All the action takes place between the six shots from a revolver. The second is about the retreat of the White Polish Army from the Polesye [region of the Belorussian SSR]: There are strong battle scenes with well-drawn characters. If you decided to publish them, in order to give courage to our cowardly editors, I would be prepared to write a foreword to the stories.

And why not republish the polemics between Marshals Pilsudski and Tukhachevskiy? After all, these are brilliant commentaries on the entire campaign!

We have been timid about the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact (this is a reference to the Soviet-German Nonaggression Pact concluded in August 1939—Yu. Shch.). You are used to talking about the need to defend the Belorussian and Ukrainian populations on territories seized as a result of the War of 1920. We put it more bluntly: "We were knifed in the back." My God, how quickly history takes its revenge! When Hitler was carving up Czechoslovakia, we also went into the Zaolzie [disputed region on the Polish-Czechoslovak border]. Indeed, there is no sentiment in politics: When the elementary principles of ethics are broken and morality rejected, there is a price to be paid.

Hitler's attack on the USSR in June 1941 made us allies. We fought for Belorussian villages; you shared your weapons with us and liberated our fatherland. However, the shameful past remained like a piece of shrapnel in our memory. We drew a veil of silence over it instead of operating and getting rid of it. We left this to our enemies, and they really tried to ensure that our pain would not diminish.

Finally, there is the fraternal grave near Smolensk and the death of Polish officer prisoners of war.... The time has also come to get to the bottom of the secret of Katyn.

Eliminating blank spots means telling ourselves the whole truth with all seriousness and goodwill. In recognizing the truth, we will strengthen mutual trust—and that is the basis for better understanding and friendship. [passage omitted]

Naval Ships To Visit Szczecin 19-24 Jul

LD1607123488 Moscow TASS in English 1038 GMT 16 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow Jul 16 TASS—It is announced here that, in accordance with an arrangement made, a Soviet naval squadron consisting of the guided missile cruiser "Grozny", large anti-submarine ship "Slavny" and escort ship "Bditelny" under the flag of Admiral Vitaliy Ivanov, commander of the Baltic fleet, is to call at the port of Szczecin in the period of July 19 to 24 for an official friendly visit.

Polish Foreign Minister Outlines New Approach

PM1207150788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 3

[Interview with Polish Foreign Minister T. Olechowski by IZVESTIYA special correspondents N. Yermolovich and L. Toporkov: "T. Olechowski: 'We Have More Than Enough Treaties. What We Lack Are Real Ties'"; date of interview not given—first paragraph is IZVESTIYA introduction]

[Text] Warsaw—Not so long ago, by a decision of the Sejm, Tadeusz Olechowski was appointed Polish minister of foreign affairs. IZVESTIYA special correspondents N. Yermolovich and L. Toporkov asked him to

answer a number of questions. Naturally, the first question was devoted to the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference and its results. How were they received in Poland and at the republic's foreign affairs ministry?

Answer: The changes which are taking place in both our countries have created more favorable conditions than ever before for the practical development of mutual partnership relations. This is also borne out by the documents of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference. The Polish public followed the conference with great interest. We have embarked on a road of socialist renewal which is close to the Soviet restructuring in its aims and principles, and we feel complete solidarity with the bold and truly revolutionary plans outlined by the conference. Its decisions, which set free the creative forces of the party and the people, are an important contribution to the development of the theory and practice of socialist building. Without any doubt, they will exert their influence on the process of reforms in Poland and on our mutual relations.

Question: Comrade Minister, we would like to introduce you to the IZVESTIYA readers. Could you say a few words about yourself, please?

Answer: It is never easy to talk about oneself. But since you are asking...I have held a ministerial post before. Some 16 years ago, I was in charge of foreign trade. Twice I was deputy minister of foreign affairs, and I have also worked as ambassador in Paris, Bonn, and Cairo. In recent years I worked together with Minister Marian Orzechowski, who has recently been elected a secretary of the PZPR Central Committee. Consequently, I have a certain amount of diplomatic experience. What else? I am 62 years old and a graduate of the Faculty of Law at the Jagiellonian University in Krakow and the Economic Faculty of the Trade Academy.

Question: Warsaw has always been a capital wide open to the rest of the world. Is this tradition being kept up? And how, specifically, does this express itself?

Answer: Interest in the rest of the world, openness, readiness to accept from others what is valuable, what enriches our culture and, in turn, to share our achievements are inherent in the Polish national character. These traditions are being maintained and developed.

A difficult but necessary process of creating a Polish model of socialist democracy is under way. Some of our reforms, above all those which have been rated as pioneering and innovative, are attracting the attention of other countries, including socialist countries. Among the new developments which have become part of our life it is worthwhile mentioning the Law on People's Councils and Territorial Self-Management. In addition, a civil rights ombudsman has been instituted; also, a Consultative Council attached to the chairman of the Polish State Council, a Constitutional Tribunal, a Supreme Administrative Court, and a system of political pluralism within the framework of the socialist system have been established. Poland is also open to the world in the sphere of culture, tourism, and citizens' personal contacts, which have been facilitated by the liberalization of the passport system. It is possible to boldly claim now that the processes of internal transformations are completely reshaping the public inside the country—a public with new needs and aspirations. The state, and that includes the foreign policy department, is trying to meet these needs half-way.

Question: How is the new thinking which is characteristic of the socialist countries' diplomacy reflected in Polish foreign policy and its major initiatives?

Answer: Life and the situation in the world are urging us to master the new thinking, to try to find a nonstereotyped answer to the question of how we should effectively defend our interests in the international arena in accordance with the interests of the states and peoples of Europe and the world. Here are some examples of our initiatives which required a new approach: the plan for a reduction of arms and for confidence-building measures in central Europe which is known as the "Jaruzelski Plan." It is, above all, an attempt to find a solution to the disarmament problem which would accord with the actual situation and could be adopted without damage to any state. The "Jaruzelski Plan" contains truly innovative elements.

An important task of Polish diplomacy is the creation of the most favorable external conditions for Poland's internal development. The new thinking manifests itself here also in the bringing into play of hitherto untapped potential in the sphere of cooperation with foreign countries. These measures include our membership of the IMF and the World Bank, changed credit conditions in connection with our debt to the West, the complete normalization of relations with the PRC, and preparations for the establishment of diplomatic relations with the Vatican.

Question: What is Poland's contribution to the strengthening of our "all-European edifice"?

Answer: It is not so much a question of strengthening as of building this edifice, since, alas, there is a division of Europe into two groupings which symbolize, as it were, "two separate edifices."

It is possible to single out several contributions which Poland has made to the building of the "all-European edifice." Let me begin with the foundations, so to speak. If someone is talking about a common edifice and, at the same time, making no secret of his territorial claims, then he is undermining the elementary principle of trust that is crucial to life in that building. Furthermore, we want to equip our own apartment as well as possible, thus creating conditions for our joint life in the building. This is the reason for our reforms both in the economy and in the sociopolitical sphere, whose aim it is to organize a modern, stable state.

And third, we are seeking to overhaul the socialist floor which we share with others in the European edifice. This is the purpose of the joint efforts of the USSR and the other socialist countries aimed at accelerating the integration process within the CEMA framework. And finally, fourth, we are making our own specific contribution to the construction of the edifice, above all, within the framework of the Helsinki process. In short, we have declared our support for everything that serves the cause of peace and cooperation.

Question: Does this mean openness regarding Polish foreign policy and glasnost as applied to your department?

Answer: In short, it means a great deal. The democratization processes are also affecting foreign policy activities. The ministry, just like the government as a whole, incidentally, is working with the curtain raised, as we put it. Public interest in our international activities and diplomacy is growing. And this is no idle curiosity. People want to know what measures we are adopting and how and what, specifically, this will bring Poland and each of its citizens.

Question: In the period of Soviet restructuring and Polish renewal, it is obviously necessary to take a new look at Polish-Soviet relations. What opportunities do you see for their further development and improvement?

Answer: Our relations have of late reached the highest level ever, they have become genuine partnership relations, and they could be described as exemplary. This should not be a cause for complacency, especially since under the new thinking we must free ourselves of stereotypes and formalism. The development of friendship and cooperation is not just a concern for party organizations, state institutions, or specialists. What is important here is the social factor, since our mutual relations are a concern of millions. We have more than enough treaties and agreements. What we lack, however, are real ties, informal contacts, and effective interaction between labor collectives and social organizations. There is still too much bureaucracy in the organization of contacts. It is necessary to expand tourist exchanges, including individual trips. It is important to ensure that young people travel more through our countries. People do not forget what they have seen with their own eyes, and it helps them to rid themselves of all kind of myths.

Prokhanov Discusses Role of Polish Army

PM1307094588 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 10 Jul 88 First Edition p 3

[Article by Aleksandr Prokhanov: "Thoughts About Polish Army"]

[Text] I remember the frosty Warsaw morning, the tanks on Marszalowska Street, the crowd under the yellow street lights. A "Solidarity" sticker on a glass window. A metallic voice over the megaphone announcing martial law. And the numerous flickering lighted candles at the entrance to the frost-covered cathedral.

I remember the freezing night, Korolewska Square, the squeak of the trams, the sparkling arc illuminating the angular side of an armored transport vehicle. The soldiers were warming themselves over the nocturnal fire, throwing pieces of boxes onto the flames, and women from the apartment blocks nearby, muffled in headscarves, brought them hot coffee and sandwiches and looked with sympathy and pity at their young, frozen faces.

I remember the plant, the encirclement of soldiers, their hands on their submachine guns. And the howling, angry crowd, heated by hatred, pushing at the plant gates and anxious to break through the encirclement and seize the shops. Two opposing wills and energies. Two coiled springs ready to unbend.

I remember Warsaw television. Instead of the familiar announcers, there was an officer on the screen. He was reading the news, which was always the same. Strikes, riots, underground printing plants, calls for national peace. The small stars on the announcer's shoulder straps.

I remember the military representatives at the factories, ministries, universities, and railroads. People, many aggrieved, dispossessed, confused people, were besieging these army envoys, seeking advice, truth, or protection from them. The exhausted officers, tormented by lack of sleep, tried to manage production, distributed food, and, as they say, laid down the law.

How did it happen that one winter morning in 1981 the Polish Army, having left the barracks, came to the plants, the Sejm building, the regional committees, stood at the crossroads, and intervened in political and civilian life?

The whole world, socialist Poland's friends and enemies, followed as the crisis developed rapidly, and as structures designed to manage the economy and political life and culture and to preserve public order cracked up, broke, burst, and melted before their eyes. A society which until recently had been engaged in mundane labor—building ships, plowing the land, writing books—a society filled with dissatisfaction, confusion, and lack of self understanding, was disintegrating, was being filled with hatred and fear, was seeking culprits, demanding retribution, and blood was on the point of being shed and brother was about to fling himself on brother.

The unskillful administration of the economy, corruption in the party and state apparatus, violence against intellectuals, complacency and the inability to effect self renewal and reform—all this wrested the people from the administration and the PZPR leaders and generated natural dissatisfaction. This dissatisfaction was used by the political opposition, both internal and external. And

a counterstructure—"Solidarity"—arose to meet the flaccid, ineffective official structures. It instantly penetrated many spheres of life—the student body, the working class, peasantry, and intelligentsia. Its slogans, its appeals, more radical with every passing day, demanded the complete replacement of power and the political and social structure. Poland's departure from the socialist community. The disruption of political and military alliances. Masses of excited people, exhausted by the injustices and the meager life, having lost faith in the demagoguery of the government mouthpieces, followed "Solidarity." Poland left the plants and shipyards, turning into a continuous seething meeting, into a growing, fierce dispute, into a clash between two vectors. It sank into civil strife and chaos.

Under these conditions the party and government, having conceived a program for society's renewal, having no other choice, and realizing that all reforms would sink into bloody civil discord and fratricidal strife, took their next step—they introduced martial law, a curfew, patrols, and a ban on "Solidarity." They brought the Army into civilian life.

Now that, years later, long after martial law was repealed, Poland is implementing its reform with difficulty and anguish, is integrating in a new quality the interests of all strata and trends, is conducting dialogue with the opposition, is modernizing the economy, is filling culture with new content, and is interpreting socialism in a broad and humanitarian way—now, after the event, I try to understand what motivated the Army in those months. What enabled it without a single shot, without bloodshed, not through the force of caterpillar trucks and military tribunals but through the force of its authority, through sensible organizational will, not to suppress but to rally the people? What enabled the country in that agonizing and unwillingly imposed intermission, to cool down, to consider matters, to think about strategic aims of development, to investigate leaders, the complex tangle of problems, and the many-voiced chorus of promises and threats, and to select the socialist path on which people have been advancing with such difficulty but so invincibly in postwar years? Why suddenly should the Army, in many other situations a synonym for crude power and tyranny hanging over the people like an overwhelming tough force—why, in Poland, should the Army vie in authority with the church?

Indeed, what images does the military uniform, the battle standard, the idea of the Army, conjure up in the Pole's soul? What do his weapons, what does his Polish Army mean to a Pole?

There is, of course, the battle of Grunwald, where the Polish Army defeated the Teutons and dashed from the crusaders' hands the sword raised over Poland. And the Polish generals who led the North American army and who gained freedom on another continent at a time when their motherland was subjugated and oppressed. And the Kosciuszko detachments who opposed the tsar and were wiped out in unequal battle. And the Communist Poles who fought at the Paris barricades "for our freedom and yours." And the blood-spattered Poles who were the first to lie beneath the fascist tanks, beginning on the Polish borders the terrible battle of World War II. And the Warsaw insurgents who, on the boulevards, in the garrets, and in the churches defended themselves against the German divisions who sentenced the capital to death. And the divisions of the Polish Army and the People's Army which were resurrected from the ashes and marched onto the ashes of Warsaw, carrying the dust of Warsaw on their submachine guns and helmets further West, to Berlin.

To the Pole, the Army and Poland are united. The Army is the model of self sacrifice, martyrdom, and stoicism in which the people's soul has been opened to a higher morality, a higher national feeling.

This, I think, determined the nation's attitude toward its Army in the anguished and terrible days of the winter of 1981. The martial law introduced in Poland became for the Army a test of its ideological fiber, ethics, and link with national and socialist ideals.

What is happening to the Army now? How are its mutual relations with society being built?

The opposition, changing the tactics and form of its struggle for power, has, as we have seen, derived a lesson from the events of 1981. It has chosen the Army as the target for attacks the aim of which is to discredit the Army in the people's eyes and to instill an inferiority complex in soldiers and officers. This is so that if there is a repetition of the crisis, the Army would no longer be able to intervene in it but would be demoralized and split from within. It has opened the way to chaos and obstruction in its depths. There are several salients for these attacks and this criticism.

The first is, as the opposition says, that if we assert that nuclear war in the modern world is impossible, absurd, tantamount to universal death, then the existence of the Army and its armaments and service itself in it are absurd. Socialism, while proclaiming its progressive nature, should be the first to unilaterally disarm and set an example to its opponent. But to force the Army to do this it is necessary to refuse to serve it on an individual basis and to refuse to go to the draft centers.

The "Orange Alternative," the "Jehovah's Witnesses," and other pseudopacifist groupings and opposition politicians preach in the same spirit.

The second is that the opposition claims that the Polish Army is not a national army. It was created in the Soviet Union, on the Soviet model, and came to Poland from a hostile country. It brought in a terrorist regime in the

face of opposition and defends not the people but communist power. It is the obedient weapon of the Warsaw Pact and the hegemonist Soviet Union.

The "Freedom and Peace" group which, although small, is supported by the entire might of Western propaganda, adheres to these views, for instance.

The third is that the opposition insists that of itself military service stultifies and demoralizes people. In it, primacy goes to force, not morale. It violates the Christian precept: "Thou shalt not kill!" Individuality and initiative perish in it. Tyranny and hierarchy rule in it. The Army does not allow the church, does not allow the Catholic Church, into the barracks.

This criticism comes from cultural and intellectual circles, from the clergy.

All three salients of criticism compel the Army and its propaganda and military intellectuals to enter into a broad and reasoned dialogue with the opposition, in view of society, inviting society to take part in this dialogue, too.

The first group of "arguments" is parried by the assertion that the global military-political impasse which mankind has entered is a tragic and inevitable phase of the rivalry between the two social systems which has lined up for this struggle the entire surplus resource of the world's economy, culture, mass and individual psychology, and, of course, defense might, as a result of which a precarious equilibrium and military-strategic parity has arisen. It is from this boundary line that, in overcoming the crisis, there begins global conciliation, global compromise, disarmament implemented by political power, by the military themselves enlisting rational, moral, and value arguments which have turned into the formula of the new thinking. This process of conciliation is complex and sometimes unpredictable, fraught with the danger of breakdowns and the deployment of the U.S. SDI in space. That is why socialism's unilateral disarmament is premature and hopes of an "earthly paradise" are premature and naive.

I heard these thoughts from Brigade General Professor Mieczyslaw Michalik, the author of several works about the Army's social role which are well known in Poland.

The second salient of the attack, the thesis of the "puppet, non-Polish, pro-Soviet army," is blocked by a frank unbiased analysis of wartime and postwar history. This history, of course, contains much that is aggravating, unclarified, and unagreed upon regarding the neighboring countries. But the USSR's role is, nonetheless, obvious in creating a unified, sovereign Poland which, after all the tragedies, divisions, and fascist genocide, became a sovereign power. The status of Poland has been paid for with the blood of Soviet soldiers and is guaranteed by the entire might of the socialist camp.

The well-known military journalist Ireneusz Krucewski, the author of vivid articles read in Poland, imparted these ideas to me both verbally and in his newspaper articles.

Regiment Commander Major Krzysztof Zielinski familiarized me with the atmosphere in the Polish military unit, in the barracks, in the field camps, during an exercise, during a Catholic church service, and at an evening of soldiers' songs. He was far from idealizing this atmosphere. He openly imparted the difficulties. As in our country, in the USSR, in Poland too there are nonregulation relationships. The life of the military unit is surrounded by excessive secrecy, hidden behind a barrier, behind a password, behind a forbidden zone regime. There is formalism and callousness among the officers.

The Army knows about its shortcomings, is seeking to eliminate them, and is being reformed. A new, more modern, text for the military oath has been adopted. The Sejm is examining a new, more democratic, law on military service. The Army is prepared to look at itself through the eyes of society, is prepared to heed criticism, is prepared to enter into dialogue. But it is not prepared for one thing—for self destruction, for the renunciation of socialist ideals, for the separation of its defense tasks from the defense tasks of the socialist community of armies.

The Polish people often see their Army outside the garrisons engaged in the interminable civilian work. The soldiers help the enterprises which have encountered hitches. They construct houses and roads. Defense plants produce consumer goods for which there is so great a need. Military science is sharing its discoveries with civilian engineering, promoting the appearance of innovations in household electronics, automobile building, and medicine.

The Polish Army, at a time of profound social reforms, at a time when the picture of the world is changing rapidly, being a part of this world and carrying within it the world's contradictions and paradoxes, remains a guarantee of Poland's stable development and its socialist orientation.

I walk through Warsaw in summer. The crowds. The constant sparkle of automobiles. The mermaid with the sword is the image of the Polish capital, the Polish soul. A young soldier has stopped in the crowd. He looks at the flying statue.

Jakes Addresses CSSR Army Political Aides

PM1607141988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Jul 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Conference of Political Workers"]

[Text] An all-army conference of chiefs of the Czechoslovak People's Army political organs—in which M. Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, took part—has been held in Prague. In his speech he

stressed the importance of active participation by Army Communists in everyday party work under the conditions of the social and economic restructuring and democratization of society's life, and pointed to the enormous importance for the CPCZ's activity of the decisions of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, which will be specially studied in the very near future by the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium.

The speaker went on to point to the increasingly positive influence of the new political course pursued by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in international relations, which has led to an easing of tension, and expressed complete support for the Soviet Union's peace-loving initiatives put forward by M.S. Gorbachev at the Polish Sejm. Czechoslovakia is deeply committed to improving the international situation and will promote this process in every possible way, he stressed.

Moscow's Zaykov Receives Prague Delegation

PM1507155188 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 7 Jul 88 p 1

[MOSTASS report: "Foundation of Friendship"]

[Text] The close alliance and fruitful cooperation between the USSR and Czechoslovakia are the common gain of our peoples. The firm cooperation between the CPSU and the CPCZ, notably between the party organizations of the two fraternal capitals, is the foundation of the indestructible Soviet-Czechoslovak friendship.

This was stressed on 6 July in the course of a meeting between L.N. Zaykov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of Moscow CPSU Gorkom, and a delegation from Prague headed by V. Pazler, second secretary of Prague CPCZ City Committee.

During the friendly conversation, it was pointed out that our parties are implementing the course of restructuring socialist society. The 19th All-Union CPSU Conference was the most important landmark on the path of renewal. Specific ways have been discussed for further strengthening cooperation between the Moscow and Prague party organizations.

CPCZ Presidium Hails CPSU Conference Results

PM1407140388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Jul 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Presidium Session"]

[Text] Prague, 9 Jul—At its session held yesterday, the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium highly appraised the course and results of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference and its important contribution to the solution of the problems of building socialism at the present stage. Describing the conference decisions as a source of inspiration in the CPCZ's work, the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium decided that the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference decisions should be examined at the next plenum from the viewpoint of the conditions of the CPCZ's activity, an announcement released here says.

The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and the CSSR Government discussed the results of the 44th CEMA session sitting which was held in Prague and questions concerning the shaping of a new profile of the international socialist division of labor, the restructuring of the mechanism of cooperation and socialist economic integration, and the fulfillment of the Comprehensive Program for CEMA Countries' Scientific and Technical Progress Through the Year 2000.

The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and the CSSR Government affirmed their full agreement with the session sitting's assessment of the results of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference and expressed confidence that its decisions will have a positive effect on the further development of cooperation within the CEMA framework. It was stated that the session re-emphasized the importance of cooperation and socialist economic integration between CEMA countries as one of the key factors for the transition of their economies to the path of intensive development.

Having discussed the results of the CSSR's participation in the implementation of the Comprehensive Program for CEMA Countries' Scientific and Technical Progress Through the Year 2000, the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium expressed dissatisfaction with the course of its fulfillment. It was stated that, in order to enhance the effectiveness of this work, it is necessary to make fuller use of the new forms of scientific and technical cooperation, primarily direct ties, to develop a common socialist market, and to give more attention to the coordination of national economic plans for the next 5-year plan period.

More on Ryzhkov's Official Visit to CSSR

Tour of Skoda Works Detailed

LD0907030088 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 8 Jul 88

[Video report of the visit by Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, to the Skoda works in Plzen on 8 July by unidentified correspondent; from the "Vremya" newscast—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] This morning Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov arrived in Plzen, the provincial center of West Bohemia which is known throughout the world as a city of master brewers and as the republic's engineering center. The Skoda works in Plzen is 129 years old. After the sitting of the 44th CEMA session, which ended yesterday, the itinerary for the visit by the chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers includes specifically getting to know the production, which has been mastered

in Czechoslovakia for the first time, largely thanks to the socialist commonwealth. [video shows street views of Plzen; Ryzhkov a the Skoda works shaking hands with some officials]

[Ryzhkov] I saw this block when only the pillars were standing.

[Unidentified voice] It was just being built then.

[Correspondent] This block is now known as the Atomic Hall. In 1980 the country's first reactor, built using Soviet technology, was started up. Its capacity was 440 megawatts. The Skoda trademark can often be seen on trolleybuses and on power turbines. The engineers' experience here is very great. But, of course, it was far from easy for them to master the production of components weighing hundreds of tonnes, frequently honed to the highest degree of precision. Now work is currently proceeding simultaneously on several thousand megawatt reactors for new stations in Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria. [video shows Ryzhkov wandering about the shop floor, chatting to workers]

More than 40,000 people work at Skoda. It occurred to us that, in terms of the size of the production floor and of the ("tonnage") of the manufactured articles, this works bears a considerable resemblance to our Uralmash. It is no coincidence that out of the hundreds of other major enterprises 30 years ago Skoda and Uralmash found one another. To start with, these bonds were political by nature, rather than anything else: They strengthened the friendship of the two countries. But with the passing years, more and more technological and economic cooperation has come to the forefront.

Nikolay Ivanovich, may I? You were here at the Skoda works as the director of Uralmash. How do you think the works has changed?

[Ryzhkov] Well, in the first place, I was not just the director. But I was also an engineer when I worked. I was a run-of-the-mill worker when I was here. Judging by this block, there has been a big change. And one can sense even from the information given by the director of the works, the general director, that indeed there have been very big changes. Of course, this is a splendid place. A splendid works. And what is most important, there is very interesting technology. It is a head higher than it was. Here he is; [Ryzhkov gestures toward the general director] He remembers how we were...

[General director, interrupting] [Words indistinct].

[Ryzhkov] Yes, and then the technology: How can you compare it with the technology of 20 years ago? There have been very big changes. Very big and interesting changes. Yes, I feel at home here.

[Correspondent] Are Skoda and Uralmash continuing to maintain the same close relations?

[Ryzhkov] Well, I have to say that I am very pleased to say that they are even expanding these relations. Previously, well, they shared their experience; one collective went to visit the other. This is continuing now. But now they have set up a joint enterprise in order to mobilize and coordinate forces in design, production, and financial affairs.

[Correspondent] So they have started to cooperate?

[Ryzhkov] Yes, they have started to cooperate, in order to enter the market together. Two such giants can do it all. I was even joking saying that you need an antimonopoly law, because two such monopolies have joined forces. But that is a joke. I welcome it heartily. I welcome what they are doing, and I think that in a few years, having pooled their forces, they could do very great things.

[Correspondent] But probably only if prices are regulated in some way for those parts of machines manufactured?

[Ryzhkov] I think they should be given the opportunity for they themselves to establish the prices for their units under mutual cooperation. Let them calculate the prices themselves. If somebody calculates this for them, then everything will get bogged down in bureaucracy. But if we give them the chance—for this collective and for the other—then let them sit around a table and work it out. And it will be just as they agree. I think that will be fair. Nobody (?is suddenly going to work it out). But they will find a common language. They'll find one.

[Correspondent] But despite this, this issue will be tackled just the same within CEMA—regulation of prices?

[Ryzhkov] Of course. The session has ended. There was a very serious talk there. Of course, we have very many unresolved matters. They are today getting in the way of cooperation between countries—between all ten—they're getting in the way terribly. And so prices must be regulated, as well as financial and currency relations, the transferable ruble, the market—all this must be resolved. Today this acts as a brake on our relations.

[Correspondent] By and large, then, everything is moving over to a new qualitative level?

[Ryzhkov] Yes, yes. I am firmly convinced that if we do not move over to a completely new step in our economic and scientific-technological relations, we will not move ahead. We can sense that dynamic movement ahead was in point of fact stopped. So maybe this session did not adopt specific decisions—clearly we were not ready for that—but it did provide a shove—a huge shove—and I am certain of this. True, not all countries adhere to such a stance. But time is needed for the other countries to mature. And so, I believe that this session was very interesting, and that it laid a great foundation and the basis for our (?relations).

[Correspondent] The rigid framework of the official visit did not permit more than an hour and a half to be allocated to the meeting in Ptzen. Today Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov returned to Prague.

Arrival in Bratislava Noted

LD0807213488 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2017 GMT 8 Jul 88

[Text] Prague, 8 Jul (TASS)—Nikolay Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers is paying an official, friendly visit to the CSSR. He left Prague for Bratislava this evening.

Lubomir Strougal, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and head of the CSSR Government, is accompanying Nikolzy Ryzhkov on his trip.

Nikolay Ryzhkov arrived in the Slovak capital today.

The head of the Soviet delegation was met by Ignac Janak, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and first secretary of the Slovak Communist Party Central Committee; Peter Colotka, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Slovak Government; Viliam Salgovic, member of the Slovak Communist Party Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Slovak National Council; and other republic leaders.

A.K. Antonov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; V.G. Komplektov, USSR Deputy Foreign minister; and V.P. Lomakin, USSR Ambassador to the CSSR, arrived in Bratislava along with Nikolay Ryzhkov.

Further on Bratislava Talks

LD0907145888 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1226 GMT 9 Jul 88

[Text] Bratislava, 9 Jul (TASS)—Special correspondents report: A meeting was held today in Bratislava between N.I. Ryzhkov and the leaders of the Slovak Socialist Republic. Taking part were I. Janak, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and first secretary of the CPSL Central Committee, and P. Colotka, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the government of the Slovak Socialist Republic; V. Salgovic, member of the CPSL Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Slovak National Council, and other leaders of Slovakia. Also taking part in the meeting was L. Strougal, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the CSSR Government. Present on the Soviet side were A.K. Antonov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; and V.I. Lomakin, ambassador of the USSR to the CSSR.

I. Janak familiarized the Soviet guest with the work of the Republic's party organization in implementing the decisions of the 17th CPCZ Congress, with the labor achievements of the working people of Slovakia, with the development of friendly relations between regions, and with the direct production contacts of the republic's industrial enterprises with Soviet partners. He spoke highly of the significance of the restructuring unfolding in the Soviet Union, the ideas of which are a powerful source of experience and inspiration for Czechoslovak communists as well.

The head of the Soviet Government spoke about the 19th all-union party conference and the fervent support in the party and the people for its decisions aimed at the revolutionary renewal of Soviet society.

Touching upon his impressions of the meetings and conversations with working collectives at industrial enterprises and in agricultural cooperatives, N.I, Ryzhkov noted that they attest to the active support of the Czechoslovak people for the course of the 17th CPCZ Congress to accelerate the country's social and economic development and to raise substantially the efficiency of the national economy. He wished the working people of Slovakia great success in their labor.

The meeting passed off in a warm and friendly atmosphere.

Ryzhkov, Strougal on Talks

LD0907223888 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 9 Jul 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; interview with USSR Council of Ministers Chairman Nikolay Ryzhkov and CSSR Prime Minister Lubomir Strougal by S. Andreyev, identified by caption; date and place not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] [Andreyev] Your visit to the CSSR is coming to an end. This is your first visit as head of government to Czechoslovakia. Comrade Strougal, Comrade Ryzhkov, what are your impressions, what are, perhaps, the initial results of the visit?

[Ryzhkov] Well, this is indeed my first visit to Czechoslovakia as head of the Soviet Government. I have very good impressions, very good ones. I know; I have been to Czechoslovakia before, but now I have had occasion to get to know some of the facilities, meet the people, hold talks with the Czechoslovak leadership. I must say I have very good impressions; you get the feeling that the country is on the rise.

[Andreyev] What do you think? Will the results of the visit effect the expansion of our ties and the deepening of...

[Ryzhkov, interrupting] Certainly, certainly. Comrade Strougal and I have concluded that we are not making full use of the resources which are inherent in mutual complementariness and integration of our...

[Andreyev, interrupting] Is there anything to learn from?

[Ryzhkov] Of course, in general we must always learn, all the more so from friends.

[Strougal, in Czech fading into superimposed Russian translation] Besides specific results, specific proposals, and decisions, directed not only toward bilateral cooperation in its traditional form, development of modern forms of cooperation are required. In this, we have now made a great step forward in this direction. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] Comrade Ryzhkov returned to Moscow today. At the airport he was met by Comrades Zaykov, Talyzin, and other officials.

Returns to Moscow

LD0907185888 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 9 Jul 88

[Text] Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov returned to Moscow today. He was in Czechoslovakia on an official friendly visit at the invitation of the CPCZ Central Committee and the CSSR Government. From 5 to 7 July, the head of the Soviet Government took part in the 44th CEMA session in Prague. At the airport, he was met by Comrade Zaykov, member of the politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, CPSU Central Committee secretary, and first secretary of the Moscow Gorkom, and Comrade Talyzin, candidate member of the Politburo of the CPSU and first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and other officials.

Ceausescu, Israeli Communist Talk in Bucharest

PM1807141188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Jul 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Meeting in Bucharest"]

[Text] Bucharest, 12 Jul—It is necessary to step up the efforts of the peoples and of all progressive and democratic forces aimed at curbing the arms race, achieving disarmament—primarily nuclear disarmament—and resolving conflicts in various parts of the world by peaceful means, through negotiation. This was stated at a meeting held here between N. Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP, and M. Wilner, general secretary of the Israeli Communist Party Central Committee, who is visiting Romania at the invitation of the RCP Central Committee.

N. Ceausescu and M. Wilner briefed each other on the two parties' activities, emphasized the existence of good relations between the RCP and the Israeli Communist Party, and expressed a desire to develop cooperation between them in the interests of both parties and countries, peace, and mutual understanding.

More on Belgrade LCY Delegation Moscow Visit

PM1507161188 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 8 Jul 88 p 1

[MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA and MOSTASS report: "Friendship, Community of Interests. Delegation From Belgrade League of Communists City Conference Met With Moscow Party Aktiv"]

[Excerpts] Yesterday saw the continuation of the conversations between L.N. Zaykov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of Moscow CPSU Gorkom, and R. Smiljkovic, member of the Presidium of the League of Communists of Serbia Central Committee and president of the Presidium of the Belgrade League of Communists City Conference, head of the city conference delegation. Specific questions of cooperation between the fraternal capitals and collaboration in various spheres of economic and social development were discussed.

The following took part in the conversations: M.N. Smirnovskiy, deputy chief of a CPSU Central Committee department; I.P. Aboimov, USSR deputy foreign minister; senior Moscow CPSU Gorkom personnel; and M. Veres, SFRY ambassador to the USSR.

The visit by the Belgrade League of Communists City Conference delegation, which was in Moscow at the invitation of Moscow CPSU Gorkom, took place in an atmosphere of friendship and cordiality. Yesterday the delegation met with the capital's party aktiv at the Moscow Gorkom and Moscow Obkom House of Political Enlightenment. [passage omitted]

On the same day, Moscow CPSU Gorkom hosted a dinner in honor of the Yugoslav delegation.

L.N. Zaykov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of Moscow CPSU Gorkom, and R. Smiljkovic, exchanged speeches at the dinner.

In the evening, M. Veres organized a friendly meeting at the embassy. It was attended by L.N. Zaykov, Yu.S. Karabasov, and O.A. Korolev, secretaries of Moscow CPSU Gorkom, V.T. Saykin, chairman of Moscow Ispolkom, and other officials. [passage omitted]

Activities, Departure Noted

PM1807142788 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 10 Jul 88 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Visit Over"]

[Text] The delegation from the Belgrade LCY City Committee which had been in Moscow at the invitation of Moscow CPSU Gorkom has ended its visit.

The delegation was headed by R. Smiljkovic, member of the Serbian LCY Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Belgrade LCY City Committee Presidium. The delegation included S. Jovanovic, member of the Belgrade LCY City Committee Presidium and chief editor of the newspaper POLITIKA EKSPRES; B. Tomic, executive secretary of the city committee; and M. Jaskic, chairman of the LCY committee at the "Vozdovac" Commune.

During the visit the guests familiarized themselves with our city and the activities of its party organization. The delegation visited Moscow Ispolkom, Krasnopresnenskiy CPSU Raykom, the Moscow Higher Party School, the "Mosinzhstroy" Design and Construction Association, the new Saburovo residential district, and the Moscow subway.

The Belgrade LCY delegation met with Moscow's party aktiv.

L.N. Zaykov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and first secretary of Moscow CPSU Gorkom, had talks with R. Smiljkovic, member of the Serbian LCY Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Belgrade LCY City Committee Presidium. Specific questions of cooperation between the fraternal capitals and collaboration in various spheres of the economy and social development were discussed.

The delegation was seen off at Sheremetyevo Airport by Yu.S. Karabasov, secretary of Moscow CPSU Gorkom; senior party gorkom officials, and M. Veres, SFRY ambassador to the USSR.

SFRY's Suvar Sends Thanks to Gorbachev

LD1707135388 Moscow in Serbo-Croatian to Yugoslavia 1900 GMT 16 Jul 88

[Text] Stipe Suvar, president of the presidium of the LCY Central Committee, has sent to Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, a telegram which runs as follows:

Esteemed Comrade Gorbachev, I thank you cordially for the congratulations and good wishes in connection with my election as president of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee. I express my conviction that the all-around good and stable relations between our socialist countries and the LCY and the CPSU will continue to develop on the well-known principles which we confirmed in the Yugoslav-Soviet declaration adopted during your stay in Yugoslavia in March this year.

On behalf of the presidium of the LCY Central Committee and in my own name, I extend to you, the Politburo, and the CPSU Central Committee my best wishes for the successful implementation of the tasks of the 27th congress and the 19th All-Union Conference of the CPSU.

SED Daily Hails CPSU Conference Decisions

PM1807141988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Jul 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "A Powerful Boost. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND on the 19th Party Conference"]

[Text] Berlin, 9 Jul—The 19th All-Union CPSU Conference is a remarkable landmark along the path of implementing the 27th CPSU Congress decisions aimed at strengthening socialism and increasing its weight in all issues of world importance by accelerating the Soviet Union's socioeconomic development, NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, organ of the SED Central Committee, stresses in an editorial commentary.

People in the GDR follow with sympathy and great interest events in the motherland of Great October, the commentary says. Efforts for the people's prosperity and for boosting the attraction of socialism are tremendously important for the country itself as well as for the USSR's international positions and for socialism's influence in the world. This will give the peoples a powerful boost in their struggle for a peaceful future. This is why the process of renewal taking place on the scale of a vast country is a cause whose significance reaches far beyond the USSR borders.

The aspirations of all socialist countries today are aimed at creatively applying Marxism-Leninism, that living basis for action, in conformity with national specific features. The task of every Marxist-Leninist party is, guided by a sense of responsibility to its people, to find the solutions which best meet specific national conditions and demands. It was emphasized at the conference that nobody has a prescription suitable for everyone in this regard. The exchange of experience, comradely cooperation, and mutual solidarity on the basis of proletarian internationalism is all the more important.

It was fully in this spirit that the 11th SED Congress made decisions on further building a developed socialist society in the GDR, the first worker-peasant state on German soil. The course of unity of economic and social policy first mapped out at the eighth party congress in 1971 has become the main task and enjoys the support of the whole people and of all democratic parties and organizations belonging to the National Front. This is of great importance, especially bearing in mind that the GDR lies along the dividing line between the Warsaw Pact and NATO and is one of the bulwarks of peace and socialism.

"The GDR's Communists and people," E. Honecker noted in the SED Central Committee greetings message to the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, "will continue to do everything within their power to comprehensively strengthen the unbreakable fraternal alliance with Lenin's party and country. This was, is, and will be the basis of all the GDR's actions." In conformity with the

11th SED Congress decisions, we will continue to make a contribution toward the cause of consolidating socialism and strengthening peace, the commentary emphasizes.

MSZMP's Berecz Interviewed on Perestroyka
LD1107141088 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 27, Jul 88 pp 6-7

[Unattributed interview under the rubric "Perestroyka: Interested Opinions From Outside Observers" with Hungarian Socialist Workers Party Central Committee Secretary Janos Berecz: "Accord"; date and place not given]

[Text] MN: The word ACCORD has appeared lately in documents on Soviet-Hungarian relations. Does this mean that we coincide more than before in the revolutionary-transforming activities, characteristic for the contemporary times of our countries?

J. B.: It is hard to compare our countries in scope, given their different histories. Still they do have a lot in common. Forty years ago we united our destinies, became allies and set ourselves the task of building socialism. Our systems - political, social and economic - are also alike. Both countries have achieved great things; both countries have made mistakes.

At the same historical juncture, we've arrived at the same conclusion - much in our systems has outlived itself. Renewal is necessary - further development is impossible without it. We are similar in that we want to accomplish renewal within the framework of a single-party system, with the strengthening of the party's guiding role which, naturally, will demand the transformation of the Party itself.

We want to find, together with the USSR, ways to renew the party, to transform the political system and to implement economic reform. This is extremely important for us.

Our parties have independently arrived at the same conclusion - transformations are also necessary in ideology. We shouldn't condemn our old way of thinking, but not to break with the old way now would be a grave mistake.

That we agree that economic reform is the internal affair of each party fills us with hope. How to manage the economy within the framework of the political system, depends on the party's traditions, the party's way of thinking.

As for the theory of building socialism, and current problems of socialism, they cannot be the prerogative of one party. They are an international affair, the common cause of many parties. And we're happy that on this question our point of view completely coincides with that of the CPSU.

MN: Don't you think that the setting up of a socialist legal state, the humanization of socialism is determined by the general development of socialist countries? Does this mean that these processes are inevitable, in some form or another, for socialist countries?

J.B.: In 1968, I advocated blocking events going on in Czechoslovakia. I didn't agree then, nor do I agree today that the slogan "Socialism with a human face" can be counterrevolutionary. If something human is incompatible with the concept of socialism, then something is wrong with socialism. Socialism can be only humane in its essence. Because it is being built by people and for people.

We've liquidated a considerable part of private property and created public property for the people to live better. Socialism becomes humane not because we say so, but because of the political system and the economy which serve the interests of all people. Socialism and humanism are a single alloy. A monolythic alloy. It is this that should be reflected in the activities of organizations. We need laws that allow us to combine the rights of the individual with the rights of the collective.

To achieve all this we need an economy, which, even if it is below the world average, still conforms to the interests of different groups in society. All countries which consider themselves socialist must inevitably develop in this direction. This is not a condition set by one or several parties, but a historic assessment.

MN: On his visit to Yugoslavia, and later, when answering questions from "NEWSWEEK" and "THE WASHINGTON POST", Mikhail Gorbachev said that situations like the one in Hungary in 1956 and in Czechoslovakia in 1968 cannot be repeated.

J.B.: Marx said that history repeats itself twice: first as a tragedy and a second time as farce. If you agree with this, then there can be no same events.

Mikhail Gorbachev has said that controversies are inevitable in socialist countries and that tense situations can happen there, too. But if we use our accumulated, many-year-long experience and draw support from the renewal programme, the reforms and glasnost, then an explosion is far from inevitable.

When the party and the people support each other, there is less tension in society. Leaders should not "shake the stick too much" and bring the situations to the boil. Tensions in a country may come out the way they did in Poland. In such cases, we should express solidarity with a country: We mustn't interfere in the internal affairs.

MN: Hungary's Pallas Publishers and NOVOSTI press agency (APN) have signed an agreement to publish "MOSCOW NEWS" in Hungary, in Hungarian. Would you care to comment?

J.B.: Ever since our party came to power, it strengthened Soviet-Hungarian friendship in all possible ways not only officially but out of conviction. This was true when our relations were very formal and when for us they were a matter of life and death—after 1956.

The Hungarian people have always looked with great interest on events in the USSR. Our friendship was especially strong during periods of renewal. We've always shared out common problems and rejoiced over common successes.

Our interest in the USSR has especially grown in recent years. The fact that a number of problems had come to the fore in our country played a certain role. Also, people realize that the changes taking place in the USSR will be felt in our country sooner or later. We shouldn't forget that our peoples are equally interested in overcoming the problems for socialism. Thus we are enormously interested in any information about the USSR.

Still articles in our papers are generally written by Hungarians. There is the danger that when analyzing the information, they "translate" it into their own language. But if a Soviet paper is published verbatim in Hungarian, the danger disappears.

Readers will be getting firsthand information from the Soviet press. This will increase the trustworthiness of the information and force our papers to compete with MOSCOW NEWS. And this will make our papers more trustworthy. From the very beginning, I supported the idea of publishing MOSCOW NEWS in Hungary.

MN: What do you expect from the 19th CPSU Conference?

J.b. I expect victory for perestroyka. But it will have to be fought for, as we had to fight for all that we spoke about at our party conference. We'll be able to implement everything we've planned only at a price of great efforts.

Still, if a representative forum like the 19th party conference determines the general line, then everyone who deviates from it will be making a mistake. The conference will also give confidence and force to the advocates of perestroyka and will show the masses the direction in which they should move. The interests of the masses are connected with perestroyka's progress.

I hope the party conference will contribute to solving the national question. National feelings are very important. They must be attended to, otherwise they may divert attention from the main line. If the priority line of the party wins, then this problem will be solved too.

Soviet, GDR Foreign Ministry Consultations Held

LD1507194388 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1050 GMT 15 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow 15 Jul (TASS)—Consultations were held in Moscow 14-15 July between representatives of the USSR Foreign Ministry and the GDR Foreign Ministry on the situation in the Asian and Pacific Ocean region and on ways of strengthening peace and security in this region. They were held by Genrikh Kireyev, head of the USSR Foreign Ministry's Socialist Countries of Asia Administration, and K. Zorn, head of the Far East Department of the GDR Foreign Ministry.

The participants in the consultations were received by Boris Chaplin, USSR deputy minister of foreign affairs.

West Europe

Kohl Seeks 'Improvement,' Previews Moscow Tour

LD1707160388 Moscow TASS in English 1524 GMT 17 Jul 88

[Text] Bonn July 17 TASS—FRG Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl gave an interview to Deutschlandfunk radio station. In the interview he declared for the improvement of Soviet-West German relations on a wide range of problems. He said that he views the visit he is to make to the USSR in October as a good opportunity to open a new chapter in relations between the two countries.

In the interview broadcast today, the head of the FRG Government said that at the talks in Moscow he intends to discuss questions of disarmament, of widening economic and cultural ties, of environmental protection and human rights. Kohl emphasized that he intends to declare for closer cooperation between higher educational establishments of the USSR and the FRG, for a more intensive youth and student exchange.

Summing up the latest Soviet initiatives in the area of disarmament, Helmut Kohl said that they should be studied attentively and unhurriedly. "We should analyse everything with high precision, since disarmament has sense only if security is strengthened step-by-step", he said. The chancellor declared for the achievement of durable peace with a lower level of armaments.

As regards the schedules for the conclusion of the drafting of NATO's general concept on disarmament and arms control, the head of the Bonn cabinet said that its endorsement will take place, probably, after the presidential elections in the USA, as the final version of the document should take into consideration the opinion of a new U.S. President.

Genscher Welcomes Gorbachev's Warsaw Proposals

LD1507103388 Moscow TASS in English 1950 GMT 13 Jul 88

[Text] Bonn July 13 TASS—Hans-Dietrich Genscher, deputy federal chancellor and foreign minister, has welcomed the constructive initiative advanced by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, in Warsaw concerning talks on reducing conventional forces and armaments.

The readiness to eliminate the asymmetries in the spheres where one side was superior to the other, Genscher said in Bonn today, confirmed the view that the East was interested in achieving stability and effecting disarmament in the field of conventional arms.

It was equally important that the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee reaffirmed the Soviet Union's readiness to exchange initial information and conduct on-spot inspections.

"We welcome any steps leading to the creation of favourable conditions for future negotiations," Genscher said.

The West German foreign minister expressed the hope that the forthcoming meeting of the Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee would give new strong impulses to movement in that direction.

The Warsaw Treaty member countries could be sure that West Germany jointly with its NATO partners would thoroughly study the East European countries' proposals, Genscher stated.

Urges 'New Approach'

PM1607154188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 16 Jul 88 Second Edition p 4

[Own correspondent Yu. Yakhontov dispatch: "Minister's Statement"]

[Text] Bonn, 15 Jul—FRG Foreign Minister H.-D. Genscher has issued a statement calling on the West to adopt a constructive attitude and a new approach to Soviet foreign policy. The FRG, the minister noted, will use its contacts with Moscow—to which it attaches central importance—to develop and deepen East-West ties. This is important for all Europe.

Genscher proposed that the planned talks on armed forces and arms reduction in Europe and further confidence- and security-building measures in Europe should start with a meeting "at a high political level" in order to give the talks "leadership impetus." This leaves the way open for a possible summit, as proposed by M.S. Gorbachev in his speech at the Polish Sejm session.

The minister's statement says that the West's main condition at these talks is the creation of a situation in Europe in which "armed forces, both in terms of their structure and the number and deployment of the main types of arms, would be unable to launch a surprise attack or a broad offensive." The document goes on to especially welcome as a first step the Soviet Union's readiness to accept asymmetrical cuts, exchange initial data, and verify those data on site.

In H.-D. Genscher's opinion, however, the current prime task should be to conclude the Vienna meeting with a balanced final document and thereby adopt a mandate for talks on armed forces and arms cuts in Europe.

The West's skeptical foot-dragging policy is to the detriment of its own interests, the minister stressed. The debate in the Soviet Union about mistakes in its own foreign policy is of great importance since it "opens the way toward a modernization of international relations with elements of the philosophy of cooperation." The Helsinki Conference Final Act contains all the elements needed to create in Europe a system worth copying and to overcome the continent's division.

F. Ost, an official government spokesman, stated that the government entirely agrees with H.-D. Genscher's written statement. As for M.S. Gorbachev's proposals, the government does not want to make a hasty assessment, preferring a preliminary in-depth study of them.

FRG Leaders React to Warsaw Pact Proposals

Scholz Gives 'High Appraisal'

LD1707064088 Moscow TASS in English 0629 GMT 17 Jul 88

[Text] Bonn July 17 TASS—Rupert Scholz, minister of defence of the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG), has given a high appraisal of the results of the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee (PCC) of the Warsaw Treaty member states.

A statement circulated here on Saturday points out that he welcomes the intention of socialist countries to secure a 50-per cent cut in strategic offensive arms and complete elimination of chemical weapons as well as to start talks already this year on reducing conventional arms.

Such approach by Warsaw Treaty countries, the FRG's defence minister emphasized, meets the FRG's interests in the earliest specific steps in the field of disarmament on the basis of mutual security.

The new proposals which are set out in the final documents of the PCC meeting should be thoroughly studied by NATO allies, Rupert Scholz emphasized.

Ost Sees 'Rapprochement'

LD1707222388 Moscow TASS in English 2049 GMT 17 Jul 88

[Text] Bonn July 17 TASS—The decisions of the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member-states are an evidence of the further rapprochement of the positions of the East and the West, says a statement of official representative of the FRG Government Friedhelm Ost circulated here today. In the opinion of the FRG Government, the readiness of the Warsaw Treaty Organization to remove the existing imbalances in conventional armaments by asymmetrical reductions coincides with aims of NATO, the spokesman said. East-West positions in the appraisal of the state of and prospects for the development of mutual relations also coincide, he said.

The Federal Government shares the opinion of the Warsaw Treaty member-countries that environmental problems can be resolved only by joint actions, F. Ost said. The spokesman of the FRG Government reported that Chancellor Helmut Kohl had already issued a directive that the proposals of the Warsaw Treaty Organization be thoroughly studied.

Bahr Demands West's 'Answer'

LD1807214288 Moscow TASS in English 2020 GMT 18 Jul 88

[Text] Bonn July 18 TASS—The Social Democratic Party of Germany demanded that NATO give a constructive answer to the new proposals of socialist countries on disarmament contained in the documents of the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member states. These proposals open an opportunity for putting an end to the military confrontation in Europe, Egon Bahr, member of the Presidium of the SDPG, said at a news conference in Bonn today.

He said progress in this area would be promoted by the holding of a European summit meeting of states of the East and the West. The summit should be preceded by a meeting of leaders of NATO countries which should work out a joint concept of the West on disarmament.

UK's Howe Remarks on Afghan Incident Rebuked

PM1507142788 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 15 Jul 88 First Edition p 3

[TASS dispatch: "Facts Disprove Lies"]

[Text] Kabul, 14 Jul—Answering questions recently in Parliament, Geoffrey Howe, secretary of state for foreign and commonwealth affairs, cited the London newspaper THE TIMES as his "source" for claims that early this year Soviet forces had allegedly massacred the population of Kolalgu village in Afghanistan. He gave blood-curdling details about the cold-blooded killing of the villagers, including women and children. He also mentioned that all this had been recorded on film.

Let us say straight away that THE TIMES, which rates as a respectable newspaper, let Howe down. Competent Afghan organs have thrown light on the situation. In January of this year a convoy of insurgents carrying weapons was supposed to pass by Kolalgu village, located some 30 km from Ghazni city. The villagers were notified of this in advance and left the village. During the battle a number of houses were damaged to some extent and this was recorded in a report to this effect. The convoy was captured but there were no casualties among the civilian population of the village. Anything else is merely a figment of THE TIMES' imagination.

It is sad that in view of his high position the foreign secretary was not more discerning in the choice of his sources of information before addressing his audience. The reason for this obviously was that Mr Howe had no other "information" at his disposal to back up his bombastic statement about "the horrors of human rights violations" being "ignored."

However, let us remind the British minister of a number of facts, facts pure and simple. During the almost 8 years that Soviet servicemen have spent on the territory of our neighbor, they have built or restored more than 80 primary and secondary schools and colleges, 25 hospitals, 26 kindergartens, 35 mosques, and a small town consisting of more than 325 homes. Irrigation, water, and power supply lines, repaired roads and other utilities—these are the fruits of the labor of the Soviet servicemen who proved that they are not only capable of defending the revolution with arms in their hands but also advancing its socioeconomic progress.

As for THE TIMES, it might be better advised to add up the number of Afghan civilians who have fallen victim to the barbaric shelling of Afghan cities and villages by the gangs of "irreconcilables." All the more so since it is the West which provides the backing for the "fighters for Islam" and since they are using Western weapons, including British, to shoot at women, children, and old people.

Latin America & Caribbean

Nicaragua Official on Resumption of U.S. Dialogue

LD1807162688 Moscow TASS in English 0938 GMT 18 Jul 88

[Text] Managua July 18 TASS—TASS correspondent Andrey Kurguzov reports: Nation-wide defence of revolutionary transformations, genuinely people's power in the face of imperialist aggression, unleashed by the U.S. Administration, has been the main accomplishment over the period of nine years that passed since the victory of the Sandinist people's revolution. This has been stated by Tomas Borge Martinez, member of the national leadership of the Sandinist National Liberation Front, minister of internal affairs of Nicaragua.

Over this period the big imperialist power has not ceased its attempts to stifle revolutionary Nicaragua through starvation, economic and political blockade, terrorist actions by mercenaries, he told [as received] in an interview to the TASS correspondent. Defence of the revolution is struggle for its self-determination, independence and nonalignment, said Tomas Borge Martinez.

Imperialist aggression brought to the country much suffering and privation. The war took a toll of 50,000 Nicaraguan lives. Criminal subversive and terrorist sallies by Somoza mercenaries entailed a huge material damage exceeding 3,000 million dollars. Nicaragua is compelled to exert a huge effort and use many resources to consolidate its defence capacity, diverting substantial means from the needs of economy.

In these conditions, the Nicaraguan economy found itself on the verge of a deep crisis, notwithstanding great fraternal assistance and solidarity of countries of the socialist community. The priority task is therefore to overcome dislocation, attain economic independence on the basis of restructuring external and internal economic relations. Despite numerous difficulties, the government is exerting every effort to carry out socio-economic transformations. The revolutionary agrarian reform is under way. Land plots are being distributed free of charge among those who earlier could not even dream of his own plot of land. The programme of elimination of illiteracy, public health reforms are being carried out. Autonomy of national minorities is bound to lend a major impetus to the development of the country's eastern areas. It is based on respect for rich national traditions and culture of native residents of Nicaragua's Atlantic coast, said the minister of internal affairs of Nicaragua.

We have repeatedly expressed readiness to resume negotiations with the American Administration which declares of a "threat" to U.S. national security from Nicaragua. Resumption of the Washington-interupted dialogue would promote normalisation of bilateral relations and the early termination of the Central American conflict, Tomas Borge Martinez said.

Actor Ulyanov Holds Argentine News Conference

PY1507010088 Buenos Aires CLARIN in Spanish 14 Jul 88 p 25

[Text] Mikhail Ulyanov, Russian actor and Soviet deputy—who during the recent 19th CPSU Conference argued with Secretary General Mikhail Gorbachev over "glasnost," was applauded at the conference, and received plaudits from the media—is visiting Argentina at the invitation of the Argentine Authors Association in his capacity as president of the USSR Theater Workers Union.

Ulyanov is considered a Soviet people's artist and is "known" by the Argentine public through films such as "Without Witnesses," "Private Life," and "The Topic" (which elaborates on openness). During his stay in Buenos Aires, Ulyanov held a news conference at the Soviet Embassy.

Ulyanov was composed and talked with few gestures (a colleague said he was the Russian version of Lino Ventura or Jean Gabin). He showed himself ready to joke: "I was sent to Argentina because I argued with Comrade Gorbachev." Ulyanov talked about his participation in the 19th CPSU Conference: "After participating in various conferences and plenums of the CPSU Central Committee, I have to admit that never before have I found such an open and frank atmosphere. This time party representatives could discuss the issues, and this leads me to believe that 'perestroyka' is marching and taking hold."

After stressing that he participated in the conference as a representative of actors, Ulyanov said: "Some of our comrades wrote their speeches as in the past: a lot of words but few proposals. For the first time a majority of representatives spoke in first person: They said: I think, I believe, or I consider that.... The conference was the first serious test of what is happening today in the Soviet Union, and I think we passed the test. This is only the first step in 'glasnost,' people's power, and democracy. It is not easy, however, because dogmatic people are resisting the introduction of changes in our socialist society for fear of losing their positions. They think that 'perestroyka' is going to do away with socialism, and they say: No! They do not realize that a socialism clean of everything that prevents its advance is going to develop into a true socialism of our society."

Regarding this, he said: "We do not discuss the theory of our development, just its practical side. It is worth seeing the growth of our agriculture, economy, and culture, when we do not have public officials ordering people around. The conference was an interesting experience in itself, something like feeling the heartbeat of Soviet life. There was courage in the representatives who, overcoming stereotypes, asked to be heard. The first day, 40 people asked to speak. During the entire conference 260 people asked to advance to the forum. This is an indication of the need people feel to speak up."

At this point in the news conference, the actor-politician joked about the length of his address to the CPSU, stating that he "could have spoken for 5 days running, but they warned me that if I did I would lose my trip to Argentina."

Regarding his argument with Gorbachev, he explained that "in no way was it an argument. I gave my opinion about the press, and Comrade Gorbachev explained his position, trying to soften my opinion about the independence of the party's press organizations. Up to that time

we were not accustomed to debating with the party's leader, but it was Gorbachev himself who called for this type of an exchange of opinions in order to make our ways more democratic."

Panamanian Official on 'U.S. Aggression'

LD1607204488 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0630 GMT 15 Jul 88

[Excerpts] Ruben Dario Sousa, general secretary of the People's Party of Panama Central Committee, is in Moscow. Our correspondent Yuriy Isayev went to meet him:

[Isayev] I have known Comrade Ruben Dario Sousa for many years. [passage omitted] During today's meeting, we naturally discussed above all the U.S. aggression being prepared against this small Central American country, which has a population of just 2.5 million.

It can be said that the United States has already occupied our country, Ruben Dario Sousa says. The number of U.S. troops significantly exceeds the level laid down in the Torrijos-Carter agreement, and these troops are not intended for the defense of the Canal. They are special rapid deployment subunits. They are ready at any moment to begin military action against the Panamanian people.

It is quite obvious, continues the general secretary of the People's Party of Panama Central Committee, that the United States does not want to go home and that it does not want to wind down its bases by the year 2000, as envisaged in the Canal agreements. Its aim is to build new military installations on our territory and to turn Panama into a U.S. military appendage. All this is part and parcel of the overall U.S. imperialist strategy which suppresses all national-liberation movements both in Central and South America. Panama is very conveniently situated in terms of its geographical location and could serve as a good bridgehead.

We then touched on U.S. economic sanctions against Panama. As is known, Washington wanted to plunge the country into chaos. The sanctions by the White House, however, have rebounded and, boomerang-like, have hit U.S. businessmen. Panama withstood the pressure and stood firm. The United States, Ruben Dario Sousa says, intended to destroy our economy within a few days. It was considerably damaged, but imperialism failed to achieve its goal. It did not succeed in bringing the Panamanian people to its knees. The situation is now very difficult, and we are preparing to repulse possible aggression. Home guard detachments are being set up. We will not give up our freedom without a fight, and we will not allow the sovereignty of our homeland to be infringed, Ruben Dario Sousa said in conclusion.

Yuriy Petrov Named New Ambassador to Cuba

LD1507214088 Moscow TASS in English 0746 GMT 15 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 15 TASS—The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR appointed Yuriy Petrov ambassador of the Soviet Union to the Republic of Cuba, it was announced here.

He will replace Aleksandr Kapto, relieved form his duties by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet in connection with a transfer to another job.

Petrov was born in 1939. For a long time, he held party posts.

In 1982-1985, he was head of a section and deputy head of the department for organisation-and-party work at the Communist Party Central Committee.

Since 1985, Petrov has been first secretary of the Sverdlovsk Regional Party Committee.

Petrov is member of the Communist Party Central Committee and deputy of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

Political & Social

Further on Supreme Soviet Session on NKAO

'Text' of Resolution

LD1907141988 Moscow TASS in English 1412 GMT 19 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 19 TASS—Follows the full text of a resolution that was unanimously passed by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet (parliament) of the USSR Monday concerning the decisions of the Supreme Soviets of Armenia and Azerbaijan on Nagorno-Karabakh:

1. The Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, having examined the June 15, 1988, request from the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Armenia for the Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous region to be united with Armenia in conjuction with an application by the Soviet of People's Deputies of Nagorno-Karabakh and the June 17, 1988 decision of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Azerbaijan that making the Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous region part of Armenia is unacceptable, deems a change of borders and an ethnic-territorial division of Azerbaijan and Armenia on a constitutional basis impossible.

Making this ruling, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet is guided by a provision in the Constitution of the USSR (Article 78), under which the territory of a union republic may not be altered without the latter's consent.

A different decision would contradict the fundamental interests of the peoples of both republics and cause serious harm to interethnic relations in the area.

The Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet notes that over the years of Soviet Government the working people of Nagorno-Karabakh have achieved significant success in developing the economy and science and in other spheres of social life on the basis of implementing Lenin's nationalities policy and under the guidance of party and local government organizations.

At the same time no action has been taken in the autonomous region for a long time to solve many issues affecting the national interests of the Armenian population, especially in the fields of culture and education and in personnel policy. The autonomous region's constitutional rights have been breached.

Far from being bucked in time, all those negative phenomena have kept accumulating.

The authorities of Azerbaijan, Armenia and the Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous region have taken a superficial attitude to assessing the situation, failed to realize the political danger of unfounded calls for reviewing the existing ethnic-territorial arrangement in the area and adopted a passive, wait-and-see posture.

The situation in the republics has grown tense and heavy damage has been done to the economies and the interethnic relations of the peoples of Armenia and Azerbaijan.

All this has aroused the just condemnation of the working people of our country.

With a view to rectifying the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh and overcoming the serious shortcomings, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR Council of Ministers have passed resolutions outlining far-reaching measures to further the economic and cultural development of the Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous region, improve the well-being of its working people, strengthen socialist legality and public order, and intensify the education of the population of Azerbaijan and Armenia in a spirit of fraternal friendship and cooperation.

Prerequisite conditions have been created for broader ties between the Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous region and the Republic of Armenia.

The Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet thinks it expedient to send its representatives to Nagorno-Karabakh to work in close coperation with representatives of Azerbaijan and Armenia to secure the unconditional fulfilment of the adopted decisions.

2. The Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet urges the working people and the party and state bodies of the union republics of Azerbaijan and Armenia to do everything to restore a good, brotherly relationship between the Azerbaijanian and Armenian population.

The Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet instructs the USSR Council of Ministers, the soviets of people's deputies of Azerbaijan and Armenia and their executive and administrative bodies to take essential measures to normalize the situation in Armenia, Nagorno-Karabakh and other areas of Azerbaijan and ensure stronger labor discipline and unfailing abidance by the Constitution of the USSR and by Soviet law, resolutely putting an end to any activities directed at kindling national strife and to attempts to misuse democratic rights for anti-democratic purposes.

It should be considered expedient to entrust a study of related issues that were raised at the meeting of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet to a special commission to be formed at the Soviet of Nationalities, which will submit its proposals to the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet as it prepares them.

3. The Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet belies that now that the 19th National Conference of the CPSU has set further tasks in deepening the processes of revolutionary change in our society, including continued action to consolidate and develop interethnic relations, it is especially important for the presidiums of the

supreme soviets of all the union and autonomous republics and the local soviets of people's deputies to give unremitting attention to the issues of strengthening friendship and equitable cooperation among the Soviet people on the basis of the principles of internationalism.

It is imperative to show concern for every Soviet person, regardless of his or her nationality, to feel an equal citizen in any part of the country.

The arising issues of interethnic relations should be resolved in good time, with the fullest possible regard for the interest both of each people and ethnic group and of the whole of our socialist fatherland.

President of the Presidium, USSR Supreme Soviet: A. Gromyko

Secretary of the Presidium, USSR Supreme Soviet: T. Menteshashvili

The Kremlin, Moscow

July 18, 1988

Report on Proceedings

LD1807090588 Moscow TASS in English 0902 GMT 18 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 18 TASS—The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet (parliament) of the USSR began a meeting in the Kremlin today to discuss the issue of Nagorno-Karabakh.

The sitting was opened by Andrey Gromyko, president of the Presidium, who recalled that this top legislative body already discussed the issue last March and that measures were taken at the time to stabilize the situation in the autonomous region.

Later the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) and the Soviet Government worked out a package of measures to promote the economic and cultural development of Nagorno-Karabakh.

Gromyko noted that the situation concerning the autonomous region has nonetheless continued to show more and more tension.

There has taken place a session of the parliament of Armenia, which has given its consent to adopting Nagorno-Karabakh as part of that republic, and a session of the parliament of Azerbaijan, which has ruled the decision unacceptable.

The situation, Gromyko said, calls for a profound understanding of its entire complexity and for an ability to rise above emotion and all manner of wounded feeling in the name of the supreme interests of the Soviet people.

"The search for the right solution," he declared, "should be conducted within the framework of the Constitution of the USSR, socialist values and mutual respect for the opinion, traditions and national dignity of every people."

Reports were then delivered by representatives of Armenia, Azerbaijan and Nagorno-Karabakh.

Grant Voskanyan, president of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of Armenia, in his statement pointed to a "critical and tense" situation regarding Nagorno-Karabakh. He suggested sorting out thoroughly the causes behind the problem and look for ways to achieve a fair solution proceeding from Lenin's principle of the free self-determination of nations.

After stating his understanding of the history of the Nagorno-Karabakh problem, Voskanyan reminded the meeting that the leadership of his republic has repeatedly raised the issue of the region's accession to Armenia.

This has been due, according to him, also to "a manifest lag of the Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous region in social and economic development, infringements upon the national rights and dignity of its Armenian population and impediments to their cultural advancement".

All that, Voskanyan continued, has become possible because the dynamism typical of the initial phase of forming the multinational state of Soviets has in a considerable measure been lost and blunted by departures from Lenin's principles of nationalities policy and by infractions of law during the period of the personality cult and the ideology and mentality of stagnation.

After reminding those present of the Nagorno-Karabakh regional governing council's decision to secede from Azerbaijan and become part of Armenia, he asserted that Armenia "does not lay any territorial claims". What is at issue, in his words, is "the constituional right of a nation to self-determination".

Voskanyan noted the tense situation in both neighboring republics. It is being exacerbated, he added, by the actions of irresponsible persons who have resorted to violations of public order and whipped up a strike movement in Armenia in order to call the ethnic issue to attention.

All this is causing serious material and moral damage, Voskanyan observed.

He said quite a few major mistakes have been committed by Armenia's party bodies and governing councils lately in their ideological work, their influence on the masses having waned markedly as a result.

Voskanyan called for such a solution to the Nagorno-Karabakh problem as would stem from a resolution of the latest national party conference, which said that any

ethnic problems call for a balanced and comprehensive approach based on an indepth analysis and objective assessments of every specific situation.

The floor was then taken by Suleyman Tatliyev, president of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of Azerbaijan, who spoke on behalf of his republic.

He said that its party bodies, state agencies and nongovernmental organizations are taking measures to normalize the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh, but these measures are not always effective.

The reason, he explained, is that the Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous region is continuing to show complete insubordination to Azerbaijan's authorities.

Besides, a spontaneous exodus of Azerbaijanians from Armenia is continuing as in the given situation they prefer to live with other members of their ethnic group.

All this, Tatliyev said, is disorganizing the situation in Azerbaijan.

Speaking of the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh, he said real power there now is in the hands of anti-state elements who have neutralized party and state bodies.

What is happening in Nagorno-Karabakh, he said, is planned and organized action.

This is borne out, among other things, Tatliyev went on to say, by the fact that whereas previously in Nagorno-Karabakh they made realistic and perhaps even justified social demands, now the matter at issue is quite a different thing.

"We are seeking to fulfil, and are fulfilling, the well-known decision of the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet Government on extra measures for the social development of Nagorno-Karabakh, but the extremists are no longer interested in this. Today they do not even mention these matters," the representative of Azerbaijan said.

"More than a million Armenians in the Soviet Union live outside Armenia," he continued. "If the logic of the deputies from Nagorno-Karabakh is followed, then all the territories in which they now live will have to be made part of Armenia."

"Is this the way to solve the problem? Definitely, not," Tatliyev stressed.

He said that the separation of Nagorno-Karabakh from Azerbaijan is justified neither politically nor economically or legally.

For this reason he asked the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR to make sure that the territorial integrity of the sovereign republic of Azerbaijan be protected and to put an end to disturbances in Nagorno-Karabakh.

Speaking after the representatives of Armenia and Azerbaijan, Genrikh Pogosyan, first secretary of the Nagorno-Karabakh region committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan, dwelt on the issues of history, contending that Nagorno-Karabakh "has from times immemorial been inhabited by Armenians and is part of their fatherland".

He expressed dissatisfaction with how autonomy has been realized for the Armenian population of Nagorno-Karabakh and criticizing, in particular, the personnel policy of the central authorities of Azerbaijan.

Pogosyan declared his disagreement with those who, in his words, are attempting to evade a solution to the Nagorno-Karabakh problem by citing related articles in the constitution.

It must not be allowed that in a socialist state one people decide the fate of another. The fate of Nagorno-Karabakh can only be decided by the Nagorno-Karabakh population themselves, he said.

Commenting on the recent decision by the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet Government on measures to further the social, economic and cultural development of Nagorno-Karabakh, Pogosyan said the Armenian population of the region "cannot be satisfied with just material benefits to the detriment of national-cultural and spiritual development".

The good relationship of Armenians and Azerbaijanians, in his opinion, "has developed a serious crack".

In this situation Nagorno-Karabakh's secession from Azerbaijan can be the only possible solution, Pogosyan declared.

The next speaker was Vladimir Orlov, president of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation, the largest Soviet constituent republic.

He said that the decisions concerning the Nagorno-Karabakh region that have been taken by the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers and the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet have created every condition for concentrating calmly on a constructive resolution of the problems of Nagorno-Karabakh and around it.

In that region, however, "they have opted in effect for the path of pressure, an anti-constituional path contradicting the spirit and course of perestoyka", Orlov said, using the Russian word for the policy of updating every aspect of life in Soviet society.

"I believe we are dealing with an attempt to misuse democratic rights for anti-democratic ends", he added.

Orlov proposed making an appeal to the working people of Azerbaijan and Armenia to do everything possible to restore their friendship which is now needed especially badly to tackle the constructive tasks of perestroyka.

Vladimir Shcherbitskiy, a member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Central Committee the Communist Party of the Ukraine, in his statement spoke about the serious economic damage done by the unrest in Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh to the economies of constituent republics and the entire Soviet economy.

He noted with bitterness that the industry of the Ukraine has suffered heavily as a result of the continuing strikes as well.

Zakash Kamalidenov, president of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of Kazakhstan, said one especially disquieting fact about the situation relating to Nagorno-Karabakh is that instead of analyzing its causes in a calm and balanced manner and taking into account the interests of each of the peoples, attempts are being repeated to reduce the problem to mundane matters and to fire passions.

The events concerning Nagorno-Karabakh, he concluded, show the vigorous and organized activity of anti-perestroyka forces which are stoking up the conflict, playing deftly on ethnic feeling and thereby doing enormous harm to the country's economy and to relations between Soviet peoples.

The floor was then taken by Lev Zaykov, a member of the Politburo and a secretary of the CPSU Central Committee who is first secretary of the Moscow city party committee.

He expressed the opinion that the main thing now is to exercise unremitting control over the realization of the major decisions taken by the leadership of the country to improve the standard of living and develop culture in Nagorno-Karabakh and to ensure results that local people will feel as early as within the next few months and years.

Along with this, Zaykov said, it is essential to instruct law-enforcement agencies to investigate the unseemly and effectively instigatory role of those anti-perestroyka forces and corrupt clans that have been fueling tension regarding Nagorno-Karabakh.

"Using the full authority of the state and all the economic, political and propaganda means at our disposal, we should put an end to this unattractive situation which has continued for too long and return our brothers in Armenia and Azerbaijan back to work and to a normal life of good neighbors," Zaykov added.

The developments in Nagorno-Karabakh have to a tangible extent affected also Georgia, the president of the Presidium of its Supreme Soviet, Pavel Gilashvili, said in his remarks.

"We have many areas where Armenians live and we are now adopting supplementary measures towards the social development of those areas," he said.

"As far as the resolution to the problem that has arisen is concerned, there are perhaps no master-kay solutions," Gilashvili continued. "One thing is clear: The national question must be resolved, but nationalism must be fought."

In the multinational Soviet Union all the problems must be settled with regard for the interests of all the peoples, he said.

Yefrem Sokolov, a member of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Belorussia, said people in his republic have been following the events regarding Nagorno-Karabakh with concern.

"We see them as encroaching upon what is the most sacred and undercutting the country's unity and as a brake on perestroyka," he added.

The consequences of the strikes are being felt perhaps by all the constituent republics, including Belorussia, Sokolov said.

"The economic damage is, of course, great, but this isn't the main thing. The moral and political damage is terrible," he went on to say.

Strongarm methods and pressure won't lead to anything, Sokolov stressed, adding: "The knot made by the extremists should be unraveled in the framework of the Constituion of the USSR."

Academician Nikolay Basov, another member of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet who is director of the Soviet Academy of Sciences' Physics Institute, said a compromise is needed.

"Regrettably, one could not feel a desire for it in the statements by the representatives of Armenia and Azerbaijan. But irreconcilability is not a position. So maybe it is expedient to send a commission from the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet to Nagorno-Karabakh to help find a solution?," he asked.

Rafik Nishanov, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan who is also a member of the USSR Supreme Soviet's Presidium, said the issue of Nagorno-Karabakh is not an issue for only Armenia and Azerbaijan.

"It is our common problem and it should be tackled together," he said.

"But it is possible to discuss and solve anything in a balanced way only in a calm atmosphere, it is impossible to do so where strong pressure is applied to the authorities. This is why it is imperative as a matter of priority to stop all the ultimatum-style actions. They only aggravate the problem," Nishanov said.

Viktor Ambartsumyan, a USSR Supreme Soviet deputy who is president of the Academy of Sciences of Armenia, said that when discussing the conflict, one should necessarily examine its roots and these lie in the unjust and unfair attitude to the Armenian population of Nagorno-Karabakh on the part of Azerbaijan's former authorities.

He said hard and protracted work is needed to rectify the damage done and make the people forget what has happened in Sumgait. "Steps towards this should be balanced and resonable, but the guideline should be Lenin's principle of the free self-determination of peoples."

"The Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous region has refused to remain part of Azerbaijan. So it is essential to give very serious and profound thought to what is to be done, it is essential to show wisdom," Ambartsumyan said.

Poet Rasul Gamzatov from Daghestan, a member of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, described the events concerning Nagorno-Karabakh as a "spiritual Chernobyl".

"The union of peoples has been dealt a blow, the law of friendship has been broken," he said.

"While there was much criticism voiced in this hall here today, I didn't here any self-criticism at all. But is there nobody to blame for what has happened?," Gamzatov asked rhetorically.

"Without touching on the issue of a status for the autonomous region, I believe that in this situation the most correct thing will be temporarily to hand administration over Nagorno-Karabakh over to a central body," he said.

Today's problems cannot be solved by yesterday's methods, Gamzatov added.

Following a brief interval in the work of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Abdul-Rakhman Vezirov, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan took the floor. He said the problem of Nagorno-Karabakh had been imposed by overtly anti-perestroyka forces.

The very way the question of Nagorno-Karabakh's withdrawal from Azerbaijan was put gave rise to an unprecedented flare-up of nationalist sentiments. The situation in Nagorno-Karabakh now is such that the authorities are not in control of it.

Having recognized the existence of big shortcomings and miscalculations in the past in the nationalities policy with regard to Nagorno-Karabakh, the speaker pointed out that years-long intense work to rectify them lies ahead. Already now the leaders of Azerbaijan and Armenia are maintaining active every-day contacts and undertake joint actions.

Vezirov called for preventing and disruption of the age-old friendship between the peoples of Armenia and Azerbaijan.

The next speaker, Suren Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Armenia, said an explosive situation had developed in the republic. Instigatory anti-perestroyka forces play on the national sentiments of people and urge them on to irresponsible acts. Under these conditions a considerable part of party and ideological activists proved unprepared to conduct educational explanatory work among population. At present the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Armenia is doing everything possible to bring about a fundamental change of the situation. Some instigators have been stripped of party membership. There is a question of instituting criminal proceedings against persons who provoked unrest, in particular, at Yerevan airport, has been raised. [sentence as received]

The problems of Nagorno-Karabakh, the speaker pointed out, have been piling up for decades but received no resolution. Gross errors concerning culture, autonomy and personnel policy were made.

The Armenian leader called for a search for compromises, suggesting, in particular, temporarily subordinating Nagorno-Karabakh to the central authorities. It is also possible, in his view, to set up a special commission of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet to study the problem and to discuss it at a session of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The problem of Nagorno-Karabakh and, as its consequence, tension in relations between Armenia and Azerbaijan cause concern of Soviet people, also of the Georgian people, as many Armenians and Azerbaijanians live in Georgia, said prominent Georgian poet Irakly Abashidze. He holds that representatives of the intelligentsia of Armenia and Azerbaijan who exerted effective influence on the establishment of friendship between the two Transcaucasian peoples should be the first to promote its restoration. He is of the opinion that reasonable patriotism "means the quest of the roads to friendship and broad cooperation with neighbouring peoples."

Rector of Moscow University Academician Anatoliy Logunov described the events relating to Nagorno-Karabakh as damaging to friendship of Soviet peoples. Logunov is of the opinion that the consent of the Armenian authorities to the entry of the Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous region into Armenia's composition "runs counter to the Constitution of the USSR". He sees the way of the solution of the problem of Nagorno-Karabakh in unconditional implementation of a broad programme of social, economic and cultural transformations adopted by the CPSU Central Committee and the government. Logunov emphasized special role of party and government bodies, of the intelligentsia of the two union republics in rallying the sound forces of society. So far one gets the impression that the events are controlled by somebody else, he said.

Rector of Yerevan University Sergey Ambartsumyan and Armenian playwright Vardges Petrosyan insisted in their speeches that the Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous region be withdrawn from Azerbaijan and repeated the reasoning that had already been stated at the meeting.

President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of Lithuania Vitautas Astrauskas deplored the fact that party and government bodies of Azerbaijan and Armenia could not use to advantage the attention and assistance given them by the CPSU Central Committee and the government. The problems that appeared in the USSR in the area of national relations should be resolved in accordance with the spirit of the 19th party onference, the speaker said. He supported the idea of forming a commission which would find the way out of the situation on the basis of the law.

Academician Yevgeniy Primakov, director of the Academy of Sciences' Institute of the World Economy and International Relations, called attention to the fact that the leaders of the Supreme Soviets of Azerbaijan and Armenia in their statements did not express any readiness to search for a compromise solution to the Nagorno-Karabakh problem.

A compromise is wanting today, its absence generates extremism, the scientist noted as he called for raising the status of the Nagorno-Karabakh region—my making it an autonomous republic—but leaving it part of Azerbaijan.

He objected to Nagorno-Karabakh being administratively disunited with that republic as a short-sighted and anti-constitutional move that would only spawn new problems.

Stepan Shalayev, a member of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and chairman of the Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions, said: "We are witnessing attempts to set two Soviet republics, Armenia and Azerbaijan, at odds with each other."

He pointed to huge losses incurred as a result of the strikes, with workers in many of the country's republics and regions suffering from them both morally and financially.

"We have warned trade unions in Nagorno-Karabakh and Armenia about the grave responsibility they have assumed in this connection," Shalayev said.

Speaking of the future of Nagorno-Karabakh, he, too, called for making it an autonomous republic incorporated in Azerbaijan.

Another Presidium member, builder Nikolay Zlobin from Moscow, said the Nagorno-Karabakh problem and the Sumgait tragedy are corollaries of not the Soviet Union's nationalities policy but of its distortions that have been made possible by the personality cult and stagnation.

He warned his class brothers—workers and all working people in Azerbaijan and Armenia: "You have an effective attack on perestroyka under way in your lands, comrades, under the banner of struggle for ethnic interests... so be vigilant." Valentina Tereshkova, chairwoman of the Union of Societies for Friendship With Foreign Countries who is also a member of the USSR Supreme Soviet's Presidium, emphasized: "While showing concern for observing the specific interests of each of the Soviet peoples, we should not forget about our responsibility for our immense common home, for the whole multinational Soviet Union."

She said the Nagorno-Karabakh problem is due to the fact that "much has been missed, much has not been done by those who should have been concerned with upgrading interethnic relations in the country".

Tereshkova called for drawing a serious lesson from that. She also reminded the meeting of the responsibility of intellectuals.

As to a solution to the problem, she said it should lie within the framework of the Constitution of the USSR.

Well-known Azerbaijanian author Mirza Ibraghimov, a member of the USSR Supreme Soviet, said the events in Nagorno-Karabakh are a serious lesson to party and state bodies and to cultural workers' organizations, including the Writers' Union, which have not paid due attention to manifestations of nationalism.

He said at the same time he believes there is a connection between nationalist elements and anti-Soviet organizations abroad.

Tractor drivers' team leader Aleksandr Gitalov, a member of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet who spoke then, said the events in Nagorno-Karabakh are causing tremendous economic and moral losses and pushing the the country back in its perestroyka effort.

Warning that ill-considered moves only worsen the situation, he stressed that problems, especially such delicate ones as ethnic problems, cannot be solved by violence.

Arnold Ryuytel, president of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of Estonia, said the events in Nagorno-Karabakh and around it are a test for perestroyka and democratization. He called for restraining emotions and displaying wisdom and patience.

Ryuytel criticized local authorities for their late and inadequate reaction to the conflict.

Aleksandr Sukharev, procurator-general of the USSR, analyzed the legal aspect of the decisions taken in Nagorno-Karabakh and Armenia on the region's accession to the latter republic, and described them as unconstitutional.

He called attention also to the fact that actions going against the law in Armenia are not getting a proper rebuff from the local authorities. The militia and the public prosecutor's service should act more decisively and promptly, Sukharev said.

He added the impression is that some people find the situation advantageous.

The meeting was then addressed by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central committee.

(His remarks will be published in a separate story).

Aleksandr Mokanu, president of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic, and Gaibnazar Pallayev, president of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic, were unanimous that the way of confrontation, unfounded demands, and pressure should receive no support. They are of the opinion that the resolution of the CPSU Central Committee and the Council of Ministers of the USSR on Nagorno-Karabakh create all necessary conditions for a solution of the problems that have piled up.

Viktor Mironenko, member of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Young Communist League of the USSR, pointed out that the bacillus of nationalism poses particular danger to young people. Methods involving the use of force, he said, put off a solution to the pressing problems rather than to bring it closer.

Andrey Gromyko, president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, took the floor in conclusion of the session. Nagorno-Karabakh is not a private or regional issue, he said. Today this is a matter of concern to all Soviet people. They expect that the conflict will be resolved. The entire country awaits this. This is why the main thing now is to overcome estrangement between the republics and to normalise the situation. I am confident that the draft resolution of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet gives such an opportunity.

In a unanimously adopted decision the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet confirmed Nagorno-Karabakh's affiliation with Azerbaijan. Provision is made for measures which would ensure complete implementation of the comprehensive program for the socio-economic and cultural development of Nagorno-Karabakh, the program which had been endorsed by the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet Government.

Strikes, Unrest Continue in Armenia, Azerbaijan

Yerevan Production 'Standstill'

PM1807142388 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 6

[Special correspondent S. Bablumyan and P. Gutiontov report: "Yerevan, the Weekend"]

[Text] Today is a nonworking day. It is strange, however, to use this expression in the current situation where, in practical terms, the whole week could be described as **nonworking** [boldface as published]. Let us not engage in a discussion of the obvious, let us not harp on the fact that the capacitors that have not been produced in Yerevan have brought a production line in Kiev to a standstill, and, frankly speaking, are to blame for the empty shelves in stores selling radio equipment in Leningrad or Kostroma. Let us state figures: The enterprises of only a sample of ministries have failed to deliver consumer goods worth more than R500 million.

Nonetheless, Saturday is the traditional day for glancing back at the week just passed, for assessing its results. Let's be frank and admit that it was an unsatisfactory week in the fullest sense of the word, both as regards the inhabitants of Yerevan, and us all. All the efforts that were made to normalize the situation proved of little effect. However, a quest for new, nontraditional solutions is currently under way. Central Committee secretaries, members of the government, and the republic party aktiv have left their offices to communicate with people, and what is more, they are meeting them face to face, in groups of 10-20 people, rather than by the thousands in overcrowded halls. According to the old yardstick this would be described as a dissipation of forces, but according to today's criteria it is the only possible method. The discussion is usually critical, but that cannot be otherwise in the present situation.

So, the 5 July events at Zvartnots Airport remain the main topic of conversation in Yerevan. We did not meet a single person who tried to defend the attempt to paralyze the work of the key transport junction. The seizure of the airport for 2 days when thousands of passengers were prevented from coming to or leaving Yerevan was an unprecedented event. Especially when

you hear that crews, for instance, had to do their work in civilian clothes rather than the Aeroflot uniform. Pilots getting ready to take off were threatened.

As a result of these circumstances, a decision was adopted 5 July to establish order at the airport, to lift the blockade, as the official reports put it, using military subunits.

True, we are not used to anything like this. But an emergency situation had arisen. The shocking, provocative action to blockade the airport did indeed call for emergency measures. Suffice it to say, and we are revealing no secret since this has already been reported by a TASS correspondent, that Zvartnots Airport is an installation that comes under dual jurisdiction, that of the Ministry of Civil Aviation and the Ministry of Defense. As you know, during the operation there were casualties among both civilians and servicemen.

We visited the accommodation where the military school cadets who took part in the operation to free the airport are billeted. Incidentally, they also took part in the operation to normalize the situation in Sumgait. General G. Teodorov, the school chief, described how during those tragic days he led the operation to evacuate Armenians from the city rayons that had been hit. He had arrived here in Yerevan literally from a graduation evening, although on this occasion the school was unable to give a proper send-off to those who had put on officer epaulets for the first time: The entire personnel was already in Yerevan...

On 5 July, together with other subunits of the internal affairs forces, the cadets received the order to go to the airport...

As already reported, the USSR Prosecutor's Office is conducting an investigation and the full picture will emerge only when this is completed. However, whatever the case, one thing is clear even now: The seizure of Zvartnots was an action whose consequences were inevitable and the responsibility for which rests above all on the consciences of those who dispatched hundreds of young people to the airport, hundreds of young people excited by the tense atmosphere in which this big city has been living for a long time now.

How could this have happened? Were there no sensible people in Yerevan capable of stopping the provocateurs and averting the trouble?

Unfortunately, it cannot be claimed that the seizure of the airport was entirely unexpected. Several days before the dramatic events a group of intellectuals called on the republic leaders and warned that events might take this course. However, in the absence of the party Central Committee first secretary there was not a single leader who was prepared, on the basis of the available information, to accept responsibility for adopting the only possible solution. Why not say it, Yerevan Communists and Komsomol members could have formed a wall and prevented the incited crowd from reaching the airport. This did not happen.

We visited the military hospital where cadets O. Lysenko and A. Aleksandrovich, who were injured while discharging their duty at the airport, are receiving treatment. It is painful to see young men who have been injured in their own country in peacetime. And what is more, in a city where 2 days before the events at the airport the servicemen were, according to their own accounts, treated to pies, cheese, tomatoes, and bread by the local population...

We talked to the boys for a long time; they are no "enemies of the Armenian people" as some people would have it. It is embarrassing to keep repeating the same thing over and over again, but calls for "protest actions" against the army can only be described as a provocation.

We also visited hospitals where civilians who have been injured are receiving treatment. In order to put an end to false rumors we cite figures which we have obtained from E. Gabriyelyan, the republic minister of health: 36 people were hospitalized. Let that too weigh on the consciences of those who organized the reckless action at the airport.

Let us say it again, this action is being condemned by all reasonable people in Armenia. It is therefore all the more necessary to discuss it frankly and openly [glasno].

Transport, Schools Operating

LD1807211888 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 18 Jul 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Calm, businesslike life can be felt in Yerevan today. Enterprises engaged in nonstop production were working yesterday. The markets were bustling as usual, the shops threw open their doors, and many of the people of Yerevan spent Sunday in the parks and places of leisure.

All enterprises started work this morning. This is primarily the result of painstaking explanatory work on the part of party committees at enterprises and establishments. Entry examinations are being held in a calm atmosphere at higher education establishments, and the urban transportation network is working precisely to schedule. But of course, behind this outward calm there nevertheless lies concealed people's inner tension. For the vast majority, the people of Yerevan have taken, and experience what has happened, with great pain, and desire only one thing—tranquil work and a full life. I interviewed several people in the streets of Yerevan.

[Begin recording] [N. Chebotarev, identified by screen caption] How did the working day begin today, how is work?

[A. Pogosyan, senior transport controller, identified by screen caption] Today I was surprised. People came to work—everyone. Vehicles were fully working everywhere; fixed-route taxis, and the ...everywhere, everything working!

[Chebotarev] By all accounts you're in a good mood.

[Pogosyan] Very good, very good!

[Chebotarev] What sort of mood were you in when the factory wasn't working?

[Pogosyan] In a very bad mood.

[Unidentified man] I'm [name indistinct] a lecturer at the university.

[Chebotarev] And today your son is taking...

[Man, interrupting] Yes, he was taking his exam.

[Chebotarev] And he got top marks.

[Man] Yes, he got top marks.

[Chebotarev] So you're in what sort of mood?

[Man] Of course, I'm in a very good mood.

[Unidentified youth] My name is [name indistinct].

[Chebotarev] Judging from your expression, you probably attained good marks?

[Youth] Yes! I have already passed. I don't know yet what I got, but I know that I passed! Passed well!

[Chebotarev] Is everything OK—the situation at the university—are things fine there?

[Youth] Yes, very good! [end recording]

Armenians Bracing for Crackdown

AU1907123288 Paris AFP in English 1212 GMT 19 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow, July 19 (AFP)—Fears of an imminent crackdown spread among Armenians Tuesday following the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet's rejection of Armenian demands for the return of the disputed Azerbaijan enclave of Nagorno-Karabakh, an Armenian militant said.

Armenian nationalists and activists were being trailed by the police since Monday, Movses Gordissyan told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE. Police measures against militants came a day after the Armenian capital's party leader Levon Saakyan blasted the dissident Karabakh Committee for political manoeuvring.

All members of Yerevan's Communist Party have been summoned to meetings at their work places, according to Mr. Gordissyan, but no mention was made about the subjects to be discussed.

Analysts expected the party's grassroots members to be briefed on Monday's decision by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet.

The ruling has not been published by the Soviet media, and only those who had listened to Western radio broadcasts knew about it, several Yerevan residents contacted by telephone noted.

A contact at the Armenian party daily KOMMUNIST said "everybody is waiting" for the ruling to be published.

Soviet television has only announced a list of officials who spoke at the Presidium's session, whereas the news agency TASS reported on its international wires that the Presidium had agreed to examine "measures which would assure the real autonomy" of Nagorno-Karabakh. No details were given on what such measures could include.

Moscow's newspapers said a decree adopted by the Presidium would be published at a later date.

Petr Demichev, non-voting member of the Politbureau and first deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet, Interior Minister Aleksandr Vlasov, and Chief State Prosecutor Aleksandr Sukharev were to give a press conference on the Presidium's meeting here later Tuesday.

In Yerevan, the situation was reportedly calm. A mass rally was scheduled for later Tuesday to discuss the outcome of the Presidium's emergency session to consider the Nagorno-Karabakh issue and Armenian demands that the territory be reincorporated into Armenia.

Strikers in Yerevan had decided on Sunday to resume work the next day pending the outcome of the Presidium meeting.

Major troop concentrations were reported from Yerevan's immediate surroundings but military surveillance was also heavy within the city, according to Mr. Gordissyan.

No contacts could be reached at Stepanakert, the main city of Nagorno-Karabakh, which has been on a general strike for the past two months.

Baku Demonstrations 'Urged'

NC1907064688 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1600 GMT 15 Jul 88

[Text] Dear listeners, here is a disclosure by the Baku Gorkom:

It has been reported that unnamed individuals have recently called people at their homes anonymously and urged them on behalf of the Baku Gorkom to participate in meetings and demonstrations. The Baku Gorispolkom informs the people that no decision has been adopted in connection with holding meetings and demonstrations. Furthermore, no one has been authorized to engage in propaganda activities among the people in that regard.

The people are requested to call the following telephone numbers to give information about the provocateurs: 926763 and 926635. We repeat the telephone numbers: 926763 and 926635.

[Signed] Baku City Soviet of People's Deputies Executive Committee

Azerbaijan Official Interviewed

NC1907074788 Istanbul TERCUMAN in Turkish 18 Jul 88 p 4

[Text] Baku (A.A.)—While Armenians in the Nagorno-Karabakh region in the Azerbaijan SSR maintain their "resistance" in support of their efforts to place their oblast under the jurisdiction of the Armenian SSR, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium is expected to decide on the matter in Moscow today. In an exclusive interview granted to ANATOLIA agency, Naim Fataliyev, deputy chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, said: "Nagorno-Karabakh belongs to us. It will continue to do so. Unless two-thirds of the people of Azerbaijan agree, no one can take this land from us."

Recalling a statement by Mikhail Gorbachev during the all-union party conference that territories in the Soviet Union cannot be changed "by force," Fataliyev added: "The wish to take our territories by force means inciting a struggle."

Fataliyev spoke in detail about the USSR Constitution and in particular about the constitutions of the federal republics, saying that the borders of the USSR republics were approved in 1922 and that the Armenians, including those living in Nagorno-Karabakh, had agreed with the borders established. Fataliyev declared:

"The decisions being adopted now are entirely contrary to the approval of the Armenians in the past and to Article 78 of the USSR Constitution. Consequently, they are not valid. Ten percent of the Armenians who live in the Soviet Union are in the Azerbaijan SSR; 11 percent in the Georgian SSR; and 6 percent in the RSFSR. Small percentages of Armenians are found in other Soviet republics as well. In other words, 36 percent [as published] of the Armenians living in the Soviet Union are not in the Armenian SSR. Can they gather in the republics where they live and adopt decisions concerning the territories of those republics, saying that they make up the majority?"

Recalling that the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium was expected to meet tomorrow (today) to adopt a final decision confirming the USSR Constitution, Fataliyev said that the decision could only be in the form of a confirmation that "Nagorno-Karabakh belongs to the Azerbaijan SSR."

Asked what would happen if the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decided in favor of the Armenians, Fataliyev said:

"Azerbaijan is a sovereign republic. Unless two-thirds of the 7 million people of this republic—5.5 million people of Azerbaijan—vote yes in a referendum, no one can take away Nagorno-Karabakh, which is our land. This is according to the Constitution. If there is a wish to take away our territories by force, in disregard of the clear provision of the USSR Constitution, this would mean inciting a struggle.

"Disputes between peoples or republics in the Soviet Union are unprecedented. Such disputes cannot take place. If they do the alliance will lose its meaning. While addressing the 19th all-union party conference, Mikhail Gorbachev said that borders in the Soviet Union cannot be changed by force. We have arrived at a stage in which we have relinquished the use of force, instead achieving our goals by convincing the people. We are now exercising patience and showing understanding. The era in which people were boarded on railroad cars and sent into exile is over. Now efforts are made to convince the people. We are exercising patience, and this approach has begun to net favorable results. Thirty-two of the Armenian deputies of the Nagorno-Karabakh soviets of people's deputies were absent when the latest decision was adopted.

"The fact that their initial decisions were wrong and that they conflicted with the Constitution is now being realized. We know our rights. The land of Nagorno-Karabakh belongs to us, and it will continue to do so."

In response to another question, Fataliyev said: "The Nagorno-Karabakh incidents may have been provoked as much by foreign elements to obstruct the success of perestroyka as by internal extremists."

However, Fataliyev declined to explain what he meant by foreign elements. Recalling that the Armenian action had been going on for many months now, he noted the work stoppages, which are banned in the Soviet Union. Asked "are the Armenians being treated with indulgence and what would have happened if a similar situation were created by another people?" Fataliyev asseted:

"Indulgence is out of the question. The same situation would have resulted whatever the nationality of the people who resorted to such action. The extremists provoking the people in connection with the Nagorno-Karabakh problem are actually seeking their own interests and wish to obstruct the success of the restructuring policy in the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, this policy will be maintained, regardless of these selfish individuals and extremists, because they do not even represent the Armenian people."

Recalling that the people were provoked by a number of "vagrants" and opportunistic extremists in Sumgait, the city in which the incidents first began, Fataliyev said: "All those responsible have been arrested, and they will be penalized."

Fataliyev confirmed that approximately 7,000 Armenians have moved from the Azerbaijan SSR to the Armenian SSR and about 20,000 Azerbaijanis from the Armenian SSR to the Azerbaijan SSR since the incidents began.

Azerbaijan Party Discusses Housing Problem

NC1807075088 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0340 GMT 15 Jul 88

[From "The Republican Press Review"]

[Text] The republic's press organs carry information on the decision adopted by the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee on the housing problem in the republic. The decision describes the housing problem as one of the most important facing the republic's social development and says it should be urgently resolved.

The newspapers report that the materials [materialler] to be discussed during the plenum of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee on the matter will be published in the press so the people can debate them.

Poll Shows Interethnic Relations Improving

LD1707132588 Moscow in English to North America 2300 GMT 16 Jul 88

[Text] Interethnic relations in the eastern Soviet Republic of Kazakhstan, populated by representatives of 100 nationalities, have substantially improved, say 78 percent of the inhabitants recently polled. Only 19 percent did not feel significant changes. A short while ago special commissions on problems of interethnic relations were set up to promote the implementation of the principles of equality and proportional representation of each people and nationality in elected bodies of government. These commissions also do research on the problems of development and interaction pertaining to the culture, language, traditions, and customs of each people.

Ukrainian Committee Cancels Temporary Prices

LD1707131788 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 17 Jul 88

[Text] The Ukrainian State Committee on Prices has established that a number of enterprises are inflating the cost of their products without grounds for doing so. Frequently, for example, particularly fashionable products or goods treated as new products without any improvements in quality or substantial updating are marketed at higher temporary or contractual prices. High prices remain on goods that have been manufactured with crude deviations from the approved samples and various defects. The state committee has cancelled the temporary and contractual prices on 236 such items, having confiscated more than R1 million in unlawfully obtained profits and credited this amount to the budget.

Council of Ministers Session Discusses Taxation

LD1707184588 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1415 GMT 15 Jul 88

[Video report on 13 July session of the USSR Council of Ministers, chaired by Nikolay Ryzhkov—recorded]

[Excerpts] A session of the USSR Council of Ministers took place on 13 July. Questions concerning taxing the incomes of cooperatives and members of cooperatives were discussed. We present a report from that session, which was conducted by Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

[Ryzhkov] We have one question on the agenda today: the basic principles of taxing the incomes of cooperatives and also of citizens working in them. Comrades, prior to opening the session before which this question is being put I would like to say that recently, as you remember, the ninth session of the Supreme Soviet took place. One of the most important documents of our restructuring was adopted there, that is the Law on Cooperatives. It has given rise to a very lively interest among everyone in our country. During the discussion of this draft law, there were about 200,000 observations of all possible kinds. This is considerably more than the number of observations on the Law on State Enterprise. You will also remember the sharp way in which this issue was discussed at the Supreme Soviet session: For the first time, perhaps, we became aware that such a level of interest existed during the discussion of this question during the Supreme Soviet session.

During the discussion of this law, one issue among others which received very serious criticism was the provision on progressive taxation. You know that a Supreme Soviet decree was adopted that determined in advance a certain system of progressive taxation of the incomes of members of cooperatives. Moreover, this was discussed at the 19th party conference. Taking that large amount of criticism that was expressed at the session as our starting point, therefore, and proceeding, too, from the fact that

there were also very many critical points made in the press—true they were not all of the same kind, the greater part of them were critical of this decree and those provisions for being too severe while another part of our working people said that the state had acted fairly in the present case—after the session, the Council of Ministers was invited, the Ministry of Finance was invited, and other economic bodies of ours were invited to return to this question once again and to prepare a new draft decree. The Ministry of Finance worked with the Ministry of Justice and other departments. In our view, we need that kind of law on taxation, which in the first place would impart a lot of dynamism to the development of the cooperative movement in our country. We all have an interest in the cooperative movement developing in a strong way. At the same time, we must find solutions that in some measure—not in some measure, to a greater measure—correspond to social justice in our society. Today we have a very representative society that in our view is capable of approaching this question in a fully objective and qualified way.

The following order is proposed: first of all, to give the floor to Comrade Gostev, the USSR finance minister so that Comrade Gostev, using the material we gave you beforehand, can fill it out and develop this material and, as they say, report on the principles that are laid down as the basis of the legal provisions we are going to discuss together. Then we would like speeches to be made primarily by the leaders and the chairmen of cooperatives, so that we can listen to them. Of course, we would like to know the opinions of scholars, too; we would also like to know the opinions of leaders of state enterprises. We have also invited several people who are either directors or deputy directors. We have workers present here with us, too, at our session. If no one is against conducting our work in that way we will start. Boris Ivanovich, please. Comrade Boris Ivanovich Gostev, the minister of finance, has the floor. Please put your names down to speak, comrades. We will start the discussion immediately after Comrade Gostev has finished. We have the first name. [video shows Ryzhkov addressing participants in the meeting; he is seated at the head of a long table; Gostev stands and walks to an adjacent rostrum]

[Gostev] Cooperatives are being introduced today in all areas, primarily those linked with satisfying Soviet people's requirements for goods and services. More than 250,000 people, united in 20,000 cooperatives, are already engaged in this activity. The law that came into force on 1 July of this year envisages the need for the utmost help to be given by the state in developing the cooperative movement and for observing the rights of cooperatives and their members.

At the same time, a correct approach to determining relations between them and the state is a most important condition for the activity of the cooperatives. Regulation of the incomes of cooperatives and those who work in them must not be arbitrary and dependent upon the needs of the moment but economically based and provided by the state. On the one hand, it must ensure that they have an interest in developing their activity, and on the other, it must restrain the striving to get rich at the expense of society or citizens. In the initial stage of the cooperatives coming into being arrangements were adopted whereby they contribute a small part of their taxable income to the budget, while the cooperators pay tax on their personal incomes as workers and staff of state enterprises. This was to have created the necessary conditions for the development of the cooperatives. In practice, the result was different. Many cooperatives, insofar as they distribute their incomes themselves, started to direct everything—or nearly everything—they earned into payment for labor rather than into the strengthening of their material and technical base.

We selected six cooperatives in Moscow. Half of them—Alpha, reprocessing secondary raw materials; Myslitel, consumer goods; and Dom na Tverskoy, public food services—put into their wages fund from 73 to 97 percent of their income. When cooperatives receive undeserved excessive incomes it gives rise to negative attitudes toward them. It is well known that state enterprises do not distribute the whole of their net income among their workers. Some of it goes to the state and is used to provide free medical services, education, and social security in the country; the army and law enforcement bodies are maintained and enterprises and housing are built.

An acute imbalance has developed between state enterprises and cooperatives in the relationships between them and the state budget. The draft envisages that the incomes of cooperatives will be taxable according to their types of activity at rates of from 5 to 30 percent. At the same time, the maximum rate—30 percent—is recommended as being close to the size of the payments made by similar state enterprises. I would like to remind you that the organizations of the Central Union of Consumers' Cooperatives, which are also cooperative organizations, contribute 35 percent of their income to the budget. In this, consideration has been given to the fact that during the initial period of the cooperatives' work they have greater essential expenditure of various kinds. It is proposed, therefore, that during the 1st year the rate of tax will be reduced by 50 percent, and that during the 2d year there will be a reduction of 25 percent. Voluntary contributions by cooperatives to various charitable funds—the children's fund and others—will not be subject to taxation.

It is very important that the actual size of the rate of the turnover tax on the cooperatives can be fixed by the executive committee of the local soviet of people's deputies by means of reducing the maximum rate for each cooperative specifically, depending upon the conditions of its activity, and this can be done right down to the zero mark. Granting this right to the executive

committees of the local soviets of people's deputies fully corresponds to the decisions of the 19th party conference on the further extention of their authority.

The method whereby the taxable income of the cooperatives is determined remains as before: receipts minus material expenditure. This corresponds directly to the Law on Cooperatives. During preparation of the proposals, the view was expressed that money spent by the cooperatives on expanding production ought to be excluded from taxation. This proposal has not yet been taken into account, Nikolay Ivanovich, since it places the cooperatives in a more favorable position than the state enterprises, for which these expenses are not excluded from the taxable income when payment is being made into the budget. No doubt this question must be discussed today.

[Ryzhkov] What is the view of the Ministry of Justice?

[Gostev] The Ministry of Justice held the view that this income should be excluded from taxation.

[Ryzhkov] The Ministry of Finance takes the opposite view?

[Gostev] The Ministry of Finance believes that it should be the same as for the state enterprises, that the approach should be identical.

[Ryzhkov] I will ask the comrades to give their views on this question later. This is an issue of principle, we argue about the percentage, but a very important issue like that of developing production remains on one side. Please go on.

[Gostev] Now about the personal incomes of the cooperative members. The issue of the income tax paid by cooperators having to be progressive has been decided, as we know, in the Law on Cooperatives, and no doubt it is not open to discussion. I was talking about the size of personal incomes exempt from taxation. The starting point is the extent to which the tax is socially fair. There are now 120 million people working in the national economy in the country at present. The average earnings of each worker is a little over R200 a month. The state and the national economy are unable to pay more for the present because the level of labor productivity is still low.

What should our attitude be to the incomes of cooperators that amount to 1,000 rubles and sometimes more? The question arises: how right is it that people should receive incomes differing by five times, ten times and even more for work that is one and the same in character. Is there social justice here? It is obvious that the state is under an obligation to regulate consumption and to use all economic tools at its disposal—including taxation—for that purpose.

As for the size of the progression itself in the rates. Some comrades might form the opinion that the proposed taxation rates are burdensome for the cooperatives. I would like to stress that the proposed progression in taxation will not affect the broad mass of cooperators, especially since the new draft decree provides a more favorable taxation regime for the incomes of a number of categories of cooperators. In specific terms, in cases where a cooperative markets its output at prices that do not exceed state prices, taxes are levied as they are from workers and staff of state enterprises. The same advantage applies where cooperatives use state norms and rates. Further, if payment for labor is made after several months of work, the sum received is broken down into the months for purposes of calculating the tax.

It is envisaged that rebates of 30 percent will be granted from tax on personal incomes when a cooperator has four or more dependants. The cost of travel facilities to sanatoria, boarding houses, and rest homes is not included in personal incomes for tax purposes. Those are the basic principles of taxation as applied to cooperatives and cooperators that are presented for your consideration. In our view, the proposals that have been put forward are in keeping with the Law on Cooperatives; they proceed from the principles of social justice and create approximately equal conditions for the activities of the cooperatives and the state enterprises and the workers and office staff engaged in them. [video shows Gostev addressing meeting from rostrum; in addition to participants seated at the long table, video shows others seated in rows of chairs]

[Ryzhkov] Let us begin the discussion, and during it, please express your views, mention the questions that are not clear, give your opinion, and so on. [video shows Ryzhkov, seated at head of table, addressing meeting]

[Gostev] If things arise as the discussion proceeds...

[Ryzhkov, interrupting] Certainly.

[Gostev]...additional explanations.

[Ryzhkov] A lot of people have put their names down. There is a proposal that Comrade Leonid Grigoriyevich Onushko should be the first to take the floor. He is chairman of a city cooperative association in Naberezhnyye Chelny.

[Onushko] Of course, it is very good that the Ministry of Finance defends the interests of the state sector so warmly, and in so doing does not forget to put things right at the expense of the cooperative sector, which has not yet been born. In Tatariya, we have 850 cooperatives and I would say that about half of them are not yet at work. The situation is very serious. Yes, we do indeed have average earnings of R350. But comrades you must not forget...

[Ryzhkov, interrupting] Over the whole of Tatariya, is that right?

[Onushko] Yes, for Naberezhnyye Chelny and Tatariya, it is stable overall. But comrades, those earnings are for a 14- or 16-hour working day. Go back to an 8-hour working day and it will be the same old R210-220. In other words, here it is done through intensification of labor, through the fact that the cooperators really do work without days off and without holidays. As a rule all these enterprises work without lunch breaks. That is what brings in those earnings at present. It is incomprehensible, therefore; it means that if we now do, say, 30 percent on the income of the cooperative, and if wages account for 75-80 percent, then it means that it works out at virtually 50-60 percent on the wages plus 13 percent which has to be given up, so it is somewhere around 60 percent of the pay. In other words, I will be paying not R340 or 350, I will be paying R140-150 to my cooperators, and in 2 weeks who will be left at this workplace? You understand?

It seems to me that the question is still being brought up without the statistics having been carefully worked through, without careful attention having been paid to what we have done and under what conditions. There is still this sensationalism, Nikolay Ivanovich, the sensationalism that attracts the man who takes the narrow view, those who write satirical articles for the press. Indeed, the dreadful deviations from the average really do hit one in the eye by their paradoxical nature, one might say.

[Ryzhkov] Do you have any deviations?

[Onushko] We have virtually no such deviations.

[Ryzhkov] In Tatariya.

[Onushko] Yes. In Tatariya we have none. I do not know one single cooperative where anyone receives R5,000 per month. We currently pay a minimum of three taxes, comrades. We pay tax on raw materials, equipment, and transport. We buy a Kamaz truck for R70,000, against its selling price of 17,000. We fill its tank with diesel fuel costing 30 kopeks per liter instead of 6 kopeks. Naturally, the cost of our kilometer per tonne is between five and six times more expensive than is the case with the state motor-transport enterprise. What is more, we keep this Kamaz beneath the windows in our own yard, and not in a well-appointed garage. The running life of these Kamaz vehicles, therefore, is naturally that they undergo repairs and technical servicing (?over the average).

In other words, it is still too early to compare cooperators' conditions with those of the state sector, comrades. These accumulations do not exist; there are none of those strong cooperatives about which one might be able to say, there they are getting fat. Of course, there are some, but it's only one cooperative in every thousand. Then look at what happens. A juridical cooperative, the needs of which amount to a table and a telephone in order to begin its work with the population on the following day, has Boris Ivanovich proposing a 15-percent tax rate for it; whereas a public food services cooperative which needs refrigerators and transport and needs to build its own cafe or restraurant, perhaps, with enormous difficulties in getting hold of raw materials is given a tax rate of 30 percent. [passage omitted]

I myself am the chairman of a cooperative cafe. We do 18,000 [not further specified] a month. We do this in a kitchen occupying 6 square meters. I invite Boris Ivanovich to spend a week working in that kitchen. I will give him R1,000 a month. I will give him 1,500. Come along, Boris Ivanovich. You must understand that is impossible, Nikolay Ivanovich, it is impossible to work under these conditions, especially now, during the summer. I will pay the taxes. I think we are getting close to something here, but we are not taking into account the fact that a period certainly has to be given for getting onto one's feet. [passage omitted] [video shows Onushko addressing meeting from rostrum]

[Ryzhkov] Comrade Vyacheslav Vasilyevich Mogulevtsev, chairman of the Berezka production coperative in the town of Zagorsk:

[Mogulevtsev] We are in complete and radical disagreement with the proposal and the division of the cooperatives according to the plans being offered. [passage omitted] [video shows Mogulevtsev addressing session]

[Ryzhkov] Comrade (?Leonid Kunovich) Landsman, chairman of the Vtorpolimermash cooperative at the State Committee for Material and Technical Supply of the Ukraine. [video shows Landsman speaking from rostrum]

[Landsman] What I think is that if the cooperative movement has been organized, it has been organized in order to find, among the people, not those who are going to look for a way to carry out their selection of cadres on the basis of questionnaires, saying, we have given you the opportunity, go away and show some initiative. I do not think that this cooperative movement is something to be feared; one should not be afraid of it. [passage omitted]

I am officially calling for the law to have such force that nobody could distort it or make substitutions for it. One must not give any loopholes to anybody, to any bureaucrats—no matter whether it is worse or better, it will save hundreds of thousands of rubles. Last year we worked right through the year, and not a single day was worked without checks, Nikolay Ivanovich—not a single day. It ended up at the level of the republic's OBKHSS [directorate for combating the embezzlement of socialist property and speculation] with 24 people in the commission. How much of this can one take? Do you understand? Already this year too, you know. Give us grounds.

[Ryzhkov] Where do the checks come from, primarily? From what organizations are the checks drafter?

[Landsman] There is such a pile of them that the memory cannot grasp them. [passage omitted]

I have been to Hungary now, I went there and took a look at how individual operators deal with metalworking affairs under the conditions there and what sort of medical instruments they produce. They work in groups of four to five people; they work on patents. They put it out themselves, instruments at a very high standard. Finns and people from the FRG and France come to them. All the professors of the world go and order individual instruments from them. Not a single works will be taken up for this business.

Well now, I was in Czechoslovakia a few days ago and flew in here on Saturday. I was telling Comrade Murakhovskiy: I was at a cooperative near Bratislava and there they exhibited products made by cooperatives, agricultural cooperatives. Just take a look at what they make: such seed-drills as we have only dreamed of are made in cooperatives. They make instruments for industry, and they make agricultural equipment—all this is made by cooperatives. We asked Comrade Yezhevskiy: Why can't you make a seed-drill? Cooperatives make them there. I think what he says is correct [indicating Landsman], we must develop this somehow and approach these matters more flexibly. We must not, truly, push everything off onto major works alone, you know.

[Landsman] That is correct in this respect, that the man in the cooperative is the most enterprising person. Someone weak in initiative will not stand up to competition, either with the state or with the other cooperatives. That is how I understand it. Finally, nothing has been said anywhere about joint activity with other countries.

[Ryzhkov] We will give the floor later, no, later, on a point of information, to Comrade Kamentsev, who is in charge of external economic contacts in the Council of Ministers—he will tell us about it.

Comrade Boris Naumovich Krutikov, chairman of the Russkaya Berezka cooperative, of Leningrad:

[Krutikov] Nikolay Ivanovich, you asked a question about an amalgamation or an association there, should it be on the scale of the union or the republic, and I have to note that in Leningrad in this connection we have twice met at the gorispolkom and an association of cooperators is being set up under the gorispolkom.

[Ryzhkov] Boris Naumovich, tell us: Whether it is an association or a union, what is the best way to set it up? Should it be on a territorial basis, in other words irrespective of the type of cooperative, whether it may be catering or consumer goods? Or, rather, should it be according to the kind of specialization: consumer goods separately, shall we say, public food services separately, legal services separately, and so on. What is your opinion?

[Krutikov] As I see it, the system we need is this: the rayon association under the ispolkom—we also gathered there before we left, and elected the representatives of the gorispolkom to attend the conference—we need urban, republican, and union associations, not subdivided according to branches of industry.

[Ryzhkov] Thank you. So we announce Comrade Tatyana Ivanovna Koryagina, doctor of economic sciences and head of a section of the Economics Research Institute of USSR Gosplan:

[Koryagina] The Economics Research Institute of USSR Gosplan is evidently the only scientific organization now that has worked out quantitative long-term trajectories for the development of the cooperative movement in our country. According to our calculations, we get the following figures up to the year 2005. In order for our country's internal market to be balanced in the long term both with regard to quantity and quality of material goods and services produced, we have to increase the volume of retail trade turnover, including the production of material goods and paid services, to R150-180 billion. In order for such a colossal volume of goods to be produced the cooperative sector, excluding the kolkhoz, will require about 30 million people employed in them.

[Ryzhkov] In your opinion then, how much, according to the projections, will we have from the cooperative movement in the national income?

[Koryagina] Yes, we have calculated that. It is roughly, it constitutes, well, our average calculation is roughly 15 to 18 percent of the produced national income. Our calculations take into account the ensuring of a fully balanced internal market and they take into account the elimination of the shadow economy. They show that we need a more substantial revolutionary growth of the cooperatives...

[Ryzhkov, interrupting] ...to 15 percent, yes? Eighteen?

[Koryagina] ...in retail goods turnover and volume of paid services marketed to the population, to 25-30 percent.

[Ryzhkov, interrupting] And in the national econome, to 15.

[Koryagina] ...15 to 18 percent. [passage omitted] Just last week I was a member of a working group that prepared methodological documents on transferring the Sumy association to lease contracting. This will be the first time that an enterprise, which is being added to a factory that's being built by the Italians, employing 20,000 people and where the basic funds amount to some R400 million, will be transferred to lease contracting. This is in addition to those enterprises that are very

extensively introducing lease contracting—in Moscow oblast, we worked very closely on this with Moscow Obkom. Four hundred million. So it will be approximately a billion...

[Ryzhkov, interrupting] And are you getting results?

[Koryagina] Yes, we are. [passage omitted] We now badly need a decree on the leasing of production capacities, on the lease of land. We have a rural rayon where [words indistinct] the local population.

[Ryzhkov] And how many years do you consider to be the optimal term of the lease?

[Koyagina] A term of 50 years.

[Ryzhkov] Very well, we'll hear about it later. Leonid Ivanovich Abalkin, academician and director of the Academy of Sciences Economics Institute. Leonid Ivanovich, if you please.

[Abalkin] In discussing the question of tax, we've got to start from certain general premises, because it's only by getting clear about these general propositions that we can resolve the issue in one way or another.

The first initial proposition is this: We are experiencing an enormous demand for saturation of the market with consumer goods and services. The state of things is very tense. Well, and similarly with the market for say, building materials, which are scarce. We must maximally increase the volume of goods and services being offered to the population.

The second position: We have posed the question, and it presents itself as quite a major one, connected with the fact that we need the cooperatives not only in order to saturate the market, but also in order to create a powerful competitor for the state sector of the economy—in the service industries, and in the spheres of goods turnover, catering and industrial production. They must show whether, with that organization, it is possible to ensure greater efficiency, better quality, a more effective saturation of the market. So it's a question of creating equal conditions for competition and not placing the cooperatives in a losing position from the start.

The third problem is this: We have raised the question of the need to untie the distribution system and give people a chance to earn—for good results, for high labor productivity and so on. And as for the question of whether it's too much or too little, this has already been stated in all our political documents. The question of whether wages are high or low does not arise. That is an artificial question. The question is only whether they're earned or unearned. A wage of even R200 may be unearned. And some of the unearned wages that are being paid are in the state sector, that we know. And if those thousands are earned, it's normal, very good. It means it is recouped through the corresponding volume of goods and services.

Finally, another initial proposition before speaking of specific matters. By passing the law, by discussing it and finally passing the law on cooperatives, we have made a tremendous breakthrough—including a breakthrough in theory—in that we have recognized cooperative property as equal in quality and in socialist content to state property. We have given up representing it as second best, inferior, and so on. The question arises: On what basis should different systems for taxing personal income exist in the state sector and in the cooperative sector?

I can see no theoretical or other grounds for introducing different systems of taxation. That will lead to an increase in prices by cooperatives, which will compensate—or, in any event, will try to compensate—for the increase in tax rates by raising prices and sticking to their interests. We will not make anything equal. I think that we can realistically expect that this will also lead to a reduction in income for the state budget, by comparison with the possible budget revenue.

So, what do I think can be proposed? Evidently, it is right to introduce two types of tax: taxes on income—I mean pure income, and here, evidently, we must define our terms. It is the pure income of a cooperative that is taxable. It is hardly expedient at this stage to impose taxes on resources directed toward the development and technical improvement of production. It is better to exempt this part and allow it to accumulate. It represents fixed assets, all the same, and they must be removed from the scope of taxation.

Furthermore, we are restricting cooperatives producing consumer goods, which there are not enough of now. We are putting a 20-percent tax on consumer goods and 30 percent on public food services and medical aid. We must see clearly that taxation on the scale of 20 or 30 percent is restrictive and prohibitive in character. I think that this scale must, obviously, have a maximum limit of 15-20 percent and no more; these are the calculations which we have made.

As far as taxation of personal income of cooperators is concerned, our calculations have shown that income up to R1,000 can be obtained without the influence of the price factor only through raising labor productivity, including increasing the duration of working time in cooperatives, and through economies and a thrifty approach—that will also yield very large savings, especially in the initial stage. It is also possible to earn up to R1,000 by the most honest labor without resorting to use, let us say it, of the price factor and increasing by too much the prices on the goods and services offered by cooperatives. Therefore, I think that for the still unresolved issue of general taxation, including workers and office staff, a progressive scale should start to be applied from a sum exceeding R1,000. Evidently, 25 percent is the highest scale, which can be applied to a sum exceeding R1,500.

So, these are concrete proposals on the draft and starting positions from which I think we must proceed in resolving these or those concrete questions.

[Ryzhkov] Leonid Ivanovich, Leonid Ivanovich, do you have calculations for what you are talking about now?

[Abalkin] Yes, I have calculations.

[Ryzhkov] Good. You prepare such calculations for when we make decisions today on how we should proceed further. It is necessary that we should not simply be overwhelmed by emotions here, but that we really should have competent economic calculations.

[Abalkin] We have calculations, and with totals showing how they work. [passage omitted]

Comrade Mikhail Lazarovich Bronshteyn, academician of the Academy of Sciences of the Estonian SSR, head of the Political Economy Department at Tartu State University, and a professor.

[Bronshteyn] Well, what is happening to the tax system in the world now? A reduction in taxation sums, tax rates, is going on in all large capitalist countries. Why are they suddenly bringing them down? The point is that competition is growing sharply and the tax system is acquiring functions as a stimulus. They want to guarantee the competitiveness of their economy and this is not guaranteed by high taxes, especially taxes on investments.

The second feature is that there is differentiation. The very lowest rates are given for innovation, for introducing completely new technical and technological solutions that increase the quality of production, reduce costs, and enhance competitiveness. To whom else are they given? For exports: if you export, tax rates are also lower. The third is cooperatives: Cooperatives have the very lowest rates. Incidentally, this is an element of antitrust legislation, in order to remove the monopoly of large corporations, especially international ones.

We can see that we have an anti-innovation mechanism and we will be sitting in a hole for as long as we have this. That means that there must indeed be differentiation, and we must indeed give privileges to those who...[Bronshteyn corrects himself] where the situation with the market is very bad, principally regarding foodstuffs, and those who are innovators. By the way, this is absolutely not a new idea. This idea was expressed by Vladimir Ilich Lenin in his work on cooperatives, where there is the idea of a bonus for the civilized [as heard] cooperator. But, instead of a bonus, we have a punishment for the civilized cooperator.

Incidentally, this punishment does not come just from direct taxes, but also from indirect taxes. You see, as for what they sell—I do not know whether the Finance Ministry knew about it, but I did not get the feeling that they did from the report—that the State Committee for Prices put out a document on 24 April 1987 on the system whereby cooperatives and citizens engaged in individual labor activity pay for production and services. And so, here are the ratios according to which output is sold to them. Well, for example, there is a ratio of 6.0 for leather. What sort [Bronshteyn corrects himself] payment for funds—that exceeds all turnover taxes. It is an indirect tax on the civilized cooperator.

[Unidentifed voice from hal] And on the consumer.

[Bronshteyn] And on the consumer, of course, and on everybody together. And it knocks them down and it gives artificially high competitiveness, high competitiveness, to the state sector. So, where is the normal competition here? Thank you.

[Ryzhkov] Comrade Andrey Anatoliyevich Fedorov, chairman of the Kropotkinskaya 36 public food services cooperative.

[Fedorov] According to our calculations, 26 cooperatives—we have economic data—26 cooperatives, and I am just taking public catering, could work for freely convertible currency and have up to R6 million in foreign currency each year; that is approximately $8.5 million. But today we are operating alone, for the time being, not counting those eight cooperatives which, out of 8 percent, are operating through the monopolized Intourist system. I think that cooperatives must today be given the opportunity, under the appropriate control, to work for hard currency and to expand their foreign economic activity. [passage omitted] That is all I want to say.

[Ryzhkov] Thank you. Now then, Comrade Vladimir Aleksandrovich Tikhonov, a VASKhNiL academician, will speak. He did a great deal on the Law on Cooperatives; he is one of the authors.

[Tikhonov] Thank you, Nikolay Ivanovich. I would say that the Finance Ministry has—unexpectedly for me personally—taken a very large step forward, by comparison with the decree which it had itself prepared earlier, a large step. It even struck me as unexpected. But, all the same, it is this step that is unsatisfactory. I think that the statute we are discussing today needs reshaping, and not just finishing off. [passage omitted]

Now for the second issue: the personal income of cooperative members. I support a progressive tax; there has been enough explanation of the reasons here, and I support them all. But, comrades, I always used to think that the most intricate system in our economy was the pricing system. No, it turns out that the tax system is also no less intricate. This is why I have submitted a proposal that we should not hurry now to adopt a system of taxes for cooperative members. We should not be in a hurry and not create social limitations on cooperative members. You see, the idea that the labor of cooperators should be placed on the same footing as the labor of

workers and office staff, in terms of its social importance, passed with great argument into the law on cooperatives. Well, why must we put them in a socially detrimental position, just because we feel that they are earning too much? Perhaps they do earn too much, or perhaps it is the other way around: that they earn too little in the state sector. Therefore, I have thought and written on this subject that the time has come for us to set up a unified taxation system, in which, if we are to have differences according to some kind of criteria—criteria which are, evidently, not professional and not social, for there has to be equality in this case. [sentence incomplete as heard]

It seems to me, all the same, taking into account the very great intricacy of a whole number of areas and elements of our economy, that it would perhaps not be worthwhile to entrust the reshaping of this material to any department. Departmentalism will have its own way in the elaboration of any material; and perhaps, all the same, we should entrust the task of finishing off and elaborating the law for presentation to the government, after assembling a certain group of creative people, independent of departmental adherence.

[Ryzhkov] So, Comrade Vladimir Mikhaylovich Kamentsev, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers.

[Kamentsev] The Law on Cooperatives, which is now on the table before us, contains a special section of foreign economic activity. I want to say that this section provides for great things.

[Ryzhkov] Vladimir Mikhaylovich, in concrete terms. Comrade Fedorov gave a specific example. He said that 26 organizations—public food services organizations, 26 of them—could operate today in Moscow for currency.

[Kamentsev] Yes.

[Ryzhkov] But only one such organization is operating in that way.

[Kamentsev] Yes.

[Ryzhkov] He made his own way in the world, he is a well-known man; it became like Petrovka, 38, but in his case it was Kropotkinskaya, 26 [as heard; Petrovka, 38 is the address of the Moscow police headquarters]. Well, are they not all like that? Why then can the other 25 not work? What is getting in their way?

[Kamentsev] Nikolay Ivanovich, I believe that they are able to work and they must work, and not just the public food services enterprises but other enterprises also must work.

[Ryzhkov] All right, Vladimir Mikhaylovich, but if we have given crossborder trade 100 percent...

[Kamentsev, interrupting] ...one hundred percent...

[Ryzhkov] One hundred percent.

[Kamentsev] Yes.

[Ryzhkov] We have given the road transport people, say, 30 percent, 30-50 percent, and so on; eye microsurgery 50 percent.

[Kamentsev] That has a rate of 90 percent, I think.

[Ryzhkov] ...or 90 percent even. But when cooperatives are just in the embryo stage, when it is just the beginning of the cooperatives, why do we only give them deductions of 30 percent?

[Kamentsev] Nobody is giving them anything at all yet, Nikolay Ivanovich.

[Ryzhkov] Objectively speaking, perhaps they have jumped out of our circle of external economic links and relations. We have given norms to everyone. I tell you, I tell you from memory, machine-building, and so on, cross-border trade, we have given them to everyone; we have even given them to institutes, we have fixed definite norms for centers. Perhaps we have simply forgotten the cooperatives.

[Kamentsev] Nikolay Ivanovich, I would like to remind you that...

[Ryzhkov] You go and fix some percentage, I do not know, 8, or 90, or 50 percent.

[Kamentsev] Nikolay Ivanovich, I want to say that here in the Council of Ministers we have given every center and every association the right to go out into the foreign market; we have given the right for percentages to be established and so on. There will be thousands of cooperatives, and if all these thousands of cooperatives come here, Fedorov, Petrov, Sidorov and ask, then we will not be able to work.

[Ryzhkov] Vladimir Mikhaylovich, why not? Why not? Let us write three lines.

[Kamentsev] It ought to be done the other way. Give them the to right fix the norms and give them the right to go out into the foreign market through their unions and republics.

[Ryzhkov] Why can it not be done directly? You establish that the cooperatives, or we must establish that the cooperative has the right to cooperate with its overseas partner, that is the first point. And 50 percent or 80 percent—I do not know—is set; perhaps they will be given a concessionary rate for a few years: and that is it. Just three or four lines. And they do not have to go anywhere else. The cooperatives today are still young children. They are only just beginning to stand on their own feet. And perhaps in our documents even, and in

our thinking, we still talk more about the state enterprises. In certain respects, they remain on one side, and in my view this includes the fact that they are remaining apart from foreign economic activity. Perhaps that is right. Who would have thought a year ago that today we would be discussing foreign economic activity. I remember talking with Comrade Saykin about the need to open Kropotkinskaya, 36, more quickly; I urged him on several times to do so, and today we are already talking about foreign economic activity. I think, therefore, that we have to work through this question every carefully and to issue some single decision for all cooperatives. And that is that. [video shows Kamentsev walking away from rostrum]

[Fedorov] Can I ask a question?

[Ryzhkov] Please do.

[Fedorov] He has already gone.

[Ryzhkov] It is all right; he is standing by your side. Go on, ask him your question.

[Fedorov] So that it is clear to everyone: Comrade Kamentsev received our letter in August last year. [video shows Kamentsev returning to his place at the table but not sitting down; Fedorov stands and goes up to question him]

[Kamentsev] Which letter?

[Fedorov] A letter asking for permission for us to operate in foreign currency given the large number of foreigners. We received no reply from you. We obtained the decision only 2 months ago; I do not know whether it was through the Council of Ministers or whether the Moscow Gorkom consulted you. But it works out that it took 9 months for us to ask the Council of Ministers to give us permission to operate in foreign currency. Now we are working successfully. Foul play can be found anywhere. Now, in a couple of words, a question. You have just been talking about joint enterprises so that it was clear to everyone. A cooperative, as a joint enterprise, is not always to the state's advantage. Today it is more advantageous to establish favorable norms for currency, for deduction from the cooperative budget, and take credits. Today we are not in such great need of joint enterprises if it does not require crpital investment running into hundreds of millions. Give us the norms that everyone has today. [video shows Kamentsev sitting down, turning his head to face Fedorov as he addresses him]

[Ryzhkov] That is clear. Vladimir Mikhaylovich, so that you do not get thousands of letters, what we need is a single decision. Then the comrades will not all have to wait 9 months. Comrade Aleksandr Ivanovich Buzhinskiy, deputy general director and chief economist of the Zil production association of the Motor Vehicle Industry Ministry. Let us give someone from a factory the opportunity to say what he thinks:

[Buzhinskiy] So that I will not be misunderstood, I want to begin by saying that I am completely—not formally, but in essence and I was so in the past—in favor of developing the cooperative movement in the country. I completely agree with Comrade Abalkin about the role and the importance of the cooperatives. I am not going to repeat myself on that. But there is another thing I would like to speak about. Today the cooperative movement and cooperators in general are encountering a sharply negative attitude among workers at enterprises, a sharply negative attitude. I can tell you what they say: legalized speculation, exploitation without foundation, high pay rates without foundation and without justification.

What does this mean? Why do people think like this, comrades? And this is public opinion. We cannot fail to take this into account. It is very serious. It is creating an atmosphere; it is affecting the atmosphere in industrial enterprises and it cannot be ignored. What is happening? What is bringing it about? There are two reasons. In the first place, it is the prices in the public food services establishments. That is the first question. And the second question concerns individual activity and the prices of goods in the markets. There are two circumstances that create attitudes among the people.

The second question is that of earnings, high rates of earnings. People know about them. Comrades, Comrade Abalkin says that what people get has to be earned. Nikolay Ivanovich, we are all very well aware that if the average pay in the foundry shop of the Zil works today—I give this by way of example—for heavy work is R1,000. He will never earn it! And in our industry, I will tell you, in more than half, about 70 percent, labor is organized and is quite intensive. This applies to the sewing industry, take a look at that, machine-building, particularly where large-volume production is concerned. So, of course on you understand the approaches today, well, the picture is not a clear one.

It is not just the state, it is the cooperatives themselves that have an interest today in attitudes among the people to the cooperatives changing. The cooperatives themselves have an interest and everything has to be done to cut short those mistakes and find ways of solving these problems. [passage omitted]

[Unidentified voice from hall] Expanding cooperatives will lead to lower prices.

[Buzhinskiy] I see that of course. Of course, I see that. And I believe, for example, that if it is developed sufficiently then some day we will be in a situation where the prices for cooperative goods might be lower than state ones. I see all that perfectly well.

[Ryzhkov] (?Banning things) will not do anything here. What we need are other...[Ryzhkov changes thought] He is raising the question correctly. We cannot close our eyes to the negative manifestations that unfortunately exist.

[Voice] Comrade Lev Alekseyevich Voronin, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Material and Technical Supply.

[Voronin] A few specific approaches, in our view, on the question we have been discussing today in specific terms. The cooperative movement in our country has been in existence for many years. It is a form that is of equal value to the state form. What we need are not cooperatives that exist just for this particular moment, not temporary ones, but what we need are cooperatives with a good material base, with a good composition. And all development, therefore, of the material and technical base of the cooperatives must of course be encouraged and must be solved in the approach to taxation.

Second: Clearly I am repeating things, this was said by Leonid Ivanovich Abalkin and a number of other comrades. Where taxation is concerned, the cooperatives must be placed in absolutely identical conditions as the state enterprises, with due account for the specific features of the state enterprises and the cooperatives. This must be done without fail, otherwise there will not be real competition as we understand it in this matter. And in our approach to this, in drawing up the final version of this document, this must obviously be incorporated as one of the approaches to this.

Third: In all socialist countries, comrades, there is taxation and the principle of it is as follows. A certain rate of taxation is established—in Poland, for example, both cooperatives and state enterprises pay 65 percent of their income to the budget. But then there is a scale that makes it possible to give favorable terms: If, say, it is engaged in sending output for export it is reduced by 10 percent; if it is engaged in the development of electronics it is reduced by 15 percent; and if it is engaged in matters that present some difficulty, say, for us, food and food processing, then there is a further reduction of such and such an amount. [passage omitted]

[Ryzhkov] Comrade Aleksey Filippovich Ponomarev, first secretary of the Belgorod Obkom and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Union commission on the agro-industrial complex. You will also recall that he took part actively in the discussion of the law. What is he going to tell us today?

[Ponomarev] All of us understand and are aware of it every day that our party, the Central Committee and its Politburo, and our government have no concern more important than our concern for our man of labor, how he can be clothed, how he can be fed, how normal conditions can be created for his life. Naturally, of course, in carrying out these great and responsible tasks a great role is given to our cooperatives that are now developing. [passage omitted]

[Ryzhkov] As we agreed, we are clearly going to conclude the work of our Presidium. In conclusion, I would like to voice a number of thoughts. In the first place—and this is clearly the united opinion the break—we are satisfied with the discussion of this very important question that has taken place at the Presidium today. Naturally there were some questions that arose here: comparisons among the state sector and the cooperative sector and the individual sector. These questions are to be expected and we knew that they would crop up today.

Today we do not have to set the state sector against the cooperative sector. In the final analysis, all of this is aimed at raising the well-being of our people. Our task is to find forms of management that will make it possible for the state sector, too, to improve the situation, really to carry out an acceleration; and for the cooperative sector to also be directed toward these same goals. Then we will achieve the goals we are setting ourselves. We must indeed have a certain level of competition. We are not saying that those in the state sector must not have good earnings. We indeed say that people should earn as much as possible and as much as corresponds to the work that has been done. Our task, therefore, is to raise the state sector and the government, as they say, is dealing with this on a daily basis and we believe that that is our main obligation.

At the same time, we think that the cooperative movement must also develop dynamically. That is the line of the party and we are going to implement is. This is not some termporary zigzag; we are not going to only do this for 2 or 3 years. It is a permanent thing, because we are deeply convinced that these spheres of the economy must complement each other. How will the cooperative movement develop? How will it remove to a large extent the negative phenomena that have already made their appearance today? It is a question of scale. If we do not create an economic system that facilitates the large-scale development of the cooperative movement, in the first place a cooperative movement in that form will not give the state anything, and in the second place those negative phenomena that have started to manifest themselves will manifest themselves to an even greater extent. Only by doing things on a large scale, only by saturating the market will we be able both to reduce prices and to bring order here and so on. We will not do it by any other directive or coercive means. At today's stage—and there is a stage-by-stage element as there is in anything—we have to find a means to accelerate the cooperative movement which in the future will contribute to our state budget on a large scale.

However, if we start taking out kopeks, then in the first place we will not save the situation in the Finance Ministry and in the state, and in the second place we will indeed put a brake on the cooperative movement. I, for example, see precisely such an approach for our further work. At the same time, comrades, we must not forget that the cooperatives and the members of the cooperatives live in a certain social medium in our society. There have been some very good speeches made here. Comrades, we have to be very careful in our approach to the cooperative movement, particularly to the incomes of

the cooperators. If today we set the cooperators in opposition to the working class or if you set them against the working class and the whole of society, then you must understand, comrades, we all live in one society, we must not permit such a situation to arise. We quite welcome those speeches that say we are moving forward deliberately, that we are investing more in reproduction, that we have started in a determined fashion, and so on. This must be welcomed. We must not create those clashes where people start to develop prejudiced attitudes toward the cooperative movement.

This depends on you, the cooperators, therefore, comrades. It depends on you. You have to create the kind of psycholgical situation in the country that does not permit shadows to be cast over the cooperative movement, because we, the state, will not be in a position to defend you. This is too fine an issue, comrades. We would like you to approach this matter in a conscientious way. I think it is hardly necessary for us to adopt this document today. Clearly it cannot be adopted in the form in which it is presented. I think that the discussion that has taken place today provides us with the foundations for further work. Perhaps we are looking at this problem too narrowly, the law on taxation. Perhaps we ought to formulate a definite law governing the economic relations of the cooperatives. It would cover more widely taxation, incomes, taxation of the incomes of cooperative members, and relations with the state. So, perhaps we should take a broader look at this problem.

[Unidentified voice from the hall] Revolutionary measures helping to develop...

[Ryzhkov] Yes, precisely, the economic relations of the cooperative movement. That would take in much more widely the whole problem. Let us work together on this issue and we will then create a really solid document. We have to think about the issue of the unions, comrades. My feeling is that today there is no united view yet on the question of whether unions must be set up, although comrades do say that in principle we have to set up either unions or associations which—as I understand it—should be based more on a territorial basis rather than on any industrial basis. I think that we have to do some work, comrades; the government has to do some work on this question. Apparently we do need unions in order for you to be able to resolve questions in an organized way, to help each other and in the final analysis to defend your interests in the face of departments, organs, and so on, be they economic or administrative bodies and so on. You must unite in these unions. The whole world unites in unions of that kind.

How are we going to go on from here? I would accept the proposal voiced by comrades to the effect that we ought to form a small group of specialists and people—eminent representatives of economic bodies, the Finance Ministry, the State Committee on Labor, perhaps, this is necessary for the comrades to be able to spend a couple of days thinking there. Take someone from academic science, someone perhaps from the cooperative movement, in other words we should put together a small group of capable people and sit them down for a certain period of time to draw up, say, a law, a law on taxation or perhaps a law on economic relations with cooperatives and so on. That is what we have to think about after today's session. In conclusion, I want to thank all comrades once again who have been present today and who have actively taken part. We wish you great success in the cooperative movement. Goodbye, comrades. [applause]

News Conference on Law on Cooperatives

LD1507102788 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1549 GMT 13 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow, 13 Jul (TASS)—TASS correspondent Nikita Demidov reports:

All the changes to the existing Law on Cooperatives in the USSR will come into force before 1 January, 1989, it was announced today at a news conference at the USSR Ministry of Justice. Such changes are expected in connection with the fact that even now many of the provisions of the law contradict various normative acts adopted earlier. For example, cooperatives exist to render legal assistance to the population. But it is not specified in the law that only those who have received special training can engage in such a complicated type of service.

It was also noted at the news conference that it has now become significantly easier for members of cooperatives to register. Many restrictions on those who can manage a cooperatice have been lifted: now, only a person who has a previous conviction for mercenary crimes cannot be a manager.

The journalists were also informed that a kolkhoz in the Ukraine (one of the largest republics in the USSR) has set up a joint enterprise with the daughter company of a U.S. firm that produces hybrid corn seeds. Entry by cooperatives onto the foreign market is still something unusual, but a perfectly realistic thing, it was noted at the news conference.

Biryukova Visits Leningrad Enterprises 11-14 Jul

PM1507122588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Jul 88 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Stay in Leningrad"]

[Text] CPSU Central Committee Secretary A.P. Biryukova was in Leningrad 11-14 July. She visited the "Bolshevichka" sewn goods association, the "Plastmass" association, the "Skorokhod" footwear association, the S.M. Kirov textile yarn combine, the "Pozitron" science and production association, the Soviet-West German "Lenvest" footwear enterprise, the M.V. Lomonosov porcelain plant, the company trade center, and a consumer goods exhibition.

The talks in the labor collectives and with party, soviet, and economic workers focused on questions of the practical implementation of the task, set by the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, of rapidly creating a modern, powerful, consumer goods industry and achieving a tangible improvement in satisfying the population's effective demand for consumer goods and services.

The store windows attest that so far there have been no marked improvements. The increase in volume indicators at enterprises is not always accompanied by the buildup of the amount of consumer goods. In this connection the need was emphasized to concentrate efforts on the maximum mobilization of existing reserves for increasing the production of goods. Such opportunities are opened up by the effective use of the new economic mechanism and the USSR Law on the State Enterprise (Association). There was talk of how the range should be promptly renewed and the quality of articles improved, of how economic accountability [khozraschet] within the plant should be introduced more actively, and of how people should embark more boldly on the use of the lease contract and other progressive forms of economic management and develop cooperative and individual trade activity.

Paramount importance for saturating the consumer market is attached to increasing the contribution to this matter by enterprises of the group "A" sectors. The party committees and primary party organizations, A.P. Biryukova noted, should persistently overcome the scornful attitude which still exists among some cadres to the production of consumer goods and should steer a line toward the development of specialized production facilities for their output.

The CPSU Central Committee secretary was interested in how the party organizations and labor collectives have received the documents of the all-union party conference and in what it is planned to do now for their speediest implementation in practical deeds and for the intensification of restructuring.

A.P. Biryukova spoke at a meeting with the aktiv of the workers of the Leningrad enterprises producing consumer goods.

Yu.F. Solovyev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Leningrad party obkom, took part in the work of the aktiv.

Justice Minister Interviewed on Legal Reform

LD1607125888 Moscow TASS in English 1207 GMT 16 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 16 TASS—It is possible to create a socialist state committed to the rule of law only if the supremacy of law in all spheres of societal life is ensured in practice. This idea was emphasized by Boris Kravtsov, USSR minister of justice, in an interview with a TASS correspondent. He spoke of a legal reform which will be effected in the Soviet Union in accordance with the decision of the recent all-union party conference.

One of central planks of a legal reform, the minister said, is to raise the role of the court, to strengthen guarantees of democratic principles of justice. There are about five thousand courts in the USSR now. Apart from criminal cases they annually examine more than three million civil and administrative ones. Kravtsov's opinion is that one should expect an increase in the number of non-criminal cases, and this would require expansion of the system of courts.

Serious measures are to be taken to raise the independence of the court. It is expected that a new legislation which is now being drafted will establish liability—right up to criminal one—for interference in the activities of the courts including that by officials. Liability will grow if interference is made by an official with the use of his official position. A special law on the status of judges to protect them from outside pressure is expected to be adopted.

A new criminal procedure legislation is being drafted. Changes of some procedural norms pursue the aim of increasing the guarantees of the equality of the parties in the judicial proceedings. The rights of the defence lawyer are expected to be extended: in criminal procedure, he will be able to participate in a preliminary investigation from the stage when a charge is brought, and arrest made, and in civil procedure—to participate in preparing the case for court examination.

Chazov on Increased Funding for Medicine

PM1507090988 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 6

[Special correspondent S. Tutorskaya report under the rubric "Press Conferences": "Money To Safeguard Health"]

[Text] A press conference devoted to the recent CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolution "On Measures To Further Improve Protection of the Population's Health and Strengthen the Material and Technical Base of Health Care" has been held at the Academy of Medical Sciences.

USSR Health Minister Ye. Chazov was asked this question: How does this resolution differ from previous ones? Above all, he said, in that for the first time practically all the planned tasks are being provided with the necessary funding. It was not easy to achieve this. Many good resolutions on health protection were adopted in previous years. Unfortunately, however, many outline plans were not backed up by a material base and were essentially just a good intention, not a real prospect.

Now overall spending on capital investments in medicine will really increase from R9 to R25 billion. What will be built with this money? Above all, children's sanatoriums—with 41,000 beds. The material base of hospitals for Patriotic War invalids will be substantially improved. We have, the minister said, to construct 19 radiological blocks for the treatment of neoplastic diseases and substantially improve oncological aid, which is now in a neglected state.

For the first time in recent years much attention has been devoted to rural medicine. It has been decided to construct a district hospital in every kolkhoz or sovkhoz central precinct.

Of course, this is just part of the construction program for new clinics. However, the chief emphasis in work will be placed on preventive medicine, starting with the creation of healthy working conditions.

The planned improvement in the quality of foodstuffs will also play its role in preventing diseases. The "Detskoye Pitaniye" [baby food] Association is being set up. Foodstuffs will be produced with data on their calorific value and nutrient content. But there will be no success in this great work unless all of society and each one of us takes all steps to improve food hygiene in public catering, at home, and at work. Here is just one figure: Every year we have 1.7 billion cases of acute intestinal infection. Research has shown that in half of these the elementary rules of hygiene were not observed.

At the press conference there was heated discussion of the question of the future correlation between medical aid for which a fee is charged and that which is free. There could well be a charge for many forms of aid undertaken by cooperatives (anonymous abortions, acupuncture, chiropractic, and others). But the basic line, Ye. Chazov emphasized, is an improvement in free health care.

Yes, clinics which charge for looking after people who are chronically ill and who need constant care will be commissioned. But screening in diagnostic centers, let us say, which will take the load off many hospitals, will mainly be free. Two such centers are operating in Moscow. They will soon appear in other cities.

The great tasks confronting medicine also demand greater effort and high professionalism of physicians. A number of measures are already being implemented to improve the training of physicians and intensify their scientific research work.

Medics expect reliable and modern medical equipment from our industry. And what is needed above all, V. Pokrovskiy, president of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences, remarked at the press conference, is qualitatively new laboratory equipment which will make it possible to ensure accurate and comparable analytical data. The USSR Health Ministry is for the first time appearing in the role of the client who might not accept a poor-quality instrument.

Problems of improving aid to mothers and children and providing patients with medicaments were discussed at the press conference.

The need to increase public control over the work of medics was emphasized once again. Public councils are needed at hospitals and medical centers. Only in this way, all together, will society be able to help the mercy agency.

Live Television Political Discussions Defended

PM1407120188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Jul 88 Second Edition p 3

[Muza Arsenyeva article: "'Man in the Street' Opinion; Notes on Popular Leningrad Television Broadcasts"]

[Text] Leningrad—The day before its departure for Moscow to the 19th all-union party conference, a group of members of the Leningrad delegation came to a meeting with fellow Leningraders. This meeting took place in full public view, on the live "Public Opinion" television broadcast. The delegates who had assembled in the studio received many mandates from workers and office employees from an enterprise renowned for its revolutionary traditions—the "Kirovskiy Zavod" Association. In addition, 700 telegrams were received from viewers containing mandates, notes, and suggestions which, together with a recording of the broadcast itself, constituted a Leningrad Television video document addressed to the delegates of the 19th all-union party conference.

This was the ninth such broadcast since its inauguration. It is worth tracing briefly its difficult and instructive path as an active participant in restructuring.

Events of last summer are still vividly memorable. The fifth television broadcast of "Public Opinion" created a storm in Leningrad. By no means a storm in a teacup. A discussion developed around it, or, to be more precise, a struggle in which, as it turned out, it was not so easy for progressive tendencies to gain the upper hand. Two Leningrad newspapers severely criticized the broadcast. It was refused screening by Central Television. Then, it is true, Leningraders saw two more programs, also broadcast only locally, after which there was a long break. The danger arose that the broadcast would suffer the same fate as its predecessor called "Face the City" which, stunning Leningraders with its unusual—for the first period of restructuring—democratic audacity, died without having managed to get properly off the ground.

Fortunately, this did not happen to "Public Opinion," and now two new live 3-hour programs for the second time have captured an audience not only of Leningraders but some Muscovites and residents of some other cities in the country.

First I recall that the central press was unanimous in its high assessment of the journalistic standard of all the programs. Despite the many arguments about the nature of Tamara Maksimova's work in the cadre (producer Vladimir Maksimov devised a nontraditional role for Tamara: She is not the anchorman, nor the commentator but the coordinator, that is the person who helps establish contacts), the television viewers, according to results of opinion polls conducted not so long ago on Central Television, by a majority of votes included her in the country's 10 best television anchormen.

Instead of monotonous, boring "round tables," the broadcast offered a live political show to the television viewers. "Public Opinion" proposes a clash among groups expressing different viewpoints on a topical problem connected with the tasks of restructuring.

The television viewers for whom telephones and radio channels had been made available for linking up with the studio, and also telegraph facilities and microphones in the city's streets, got actively involved in the debate. During the broadcast's clash of pluralist opinions, the curve of public opinion gradually inclines to one or other side and this is reflected on monitors at the studio's telecomputer center.

In the fifth memorable program a debate was proposed between the "enthusiasts" and "realists." The former consists of those who are convinced that restructuring cannot get by without their personal participation, while in the opinion of the latter, it is worth waiting until the new economic mechanisms begin to operate, and only then revealing themselves. So, what has started here... is just like Hyde Park [reference to Speaker's Corner, Hyde Park, London] on Nevskiy Prospekt.

The fifth program differed fundamentally from the previous ones. Those programs discussed specific political documents and ways to implement them (the draft Law on the State Enterprise, the future school statutes, and so on), while the fifth program made an incursion into people's spiritual milieu, and asked those who so desired to reveal their inner world and their attitude to restructuring. And although the airwaves were in the hands of very experienced television workers, the broadcast, in fact, proved to be not entirely controllable. People worn down by bureaucracy seized at long last upon this opportunity to find an audience and to publicly pour out their hearts, and they began to say the kind of things which, in the period prior to restructuring, even the boldest and most desperate editor would have cut out—if the program had been recorded and edited—and which today continue to shock people protesting against young people's "apolitical" views.

Many of those who at that time succeeded in grabbing the microphone on Nevskiy Prospekt were called demagogues in the Leningrad press and the broadcast was called a propaganda program which, on the whole, did not come off.

This experience showed the unpredictability of progress in the development of this type of live broadcast. Yes, a program in this form, as it was planned, did not work. But why? Let us look at how Leningrad's numerous critics explained this. This is the opinion of one of them—a teacher, a technical college director, and author of an indignant letter to LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA: "This broadcast has shown once again that public opinion needs to be prepared. It should be remembered that not every auditorium or collective is ready to go out live on the air." Here is another quotation from the newspaper: "The broadcast should have been better prepared—choose some suitable enterprise for this and handpick the participants, but the square outside Kazan Cathedral and people who just happen to be there is not the way it should be."

Should people who happen to be around not be allowed to talk on the air? But this is precisely how the program's initiators wanted it. Setting up microphones in the street, they invited anyone to participate, whether prepared or not. For far too long we have forgotten the Leninist concept about involving "all workers to a man" in the running of the state. By the way, V.I. Lenin made a demand which generally is not quoted today—that one should "be able to determine, without a trace of false idealization, the degree of its (that is, of the masses) consciousness and the strength of the influence of any particular prejudices... One of the greatest and most terrible dangers is the danger of detachment from the masses..."

It is possible to learn about the sentiments of the masses via broadcasts of the "Public Opinion" type. The broadcasts also assist in fulfilling Lenin's bidding to be in the thick of the masses... You only need the will. The fifth broadcast invited participation in it in advance. There was a large number of representatives from informal groups among the volunteers but alongside them there was not a single person from the recently elected people's deputies, not a single Komsomol worker, including those who the next day angrily criticized the broadcast in the young people's newspaper SMENA.

Today progress in the democratization of the city's public and political life is very great and this is borne out by the very fact that the broadcast continues to live and work for restructuring.

The broadcast's political representativeness has increased: A few party apparatus leaders of rayon, city and even oblast level came to the studio for the preceeding program, which is something that previously used not to happen. But now A. Gerasimov, first secretary of the party gorkom, takes part in the broadcast, and listens

to workers' mandates. Ideologists of the CPSU obkom and gorkom have shown great concern about the preparation of the two latest programs. Although not all of them have ventured to go out live, the realization that this was a way of mastering an effective ideological medium triumphed. This is a school—utilizing television for live, direct contact with people—without overcautiousness, without rostrums, and without scripts. Perhaps an important area of work for the ideological cadres should be located precisely here, in live broadcasting. Moreover, not only in the studio but in the street, at the roving microphone where the main political battles are often played out, where there is the opportunity to debunk a the viewpoint of a demagogue or extremist viewpoint in the presence of the people, and to carry the people along with you. And, moreover, where the cooperation of professional ideologists and organizer-journalists is above all desirable in this connection.

Roving street microphones for live broadcasts—this is not just one of the many possible technical means, it is the fundamental novelty of restructuring in television, an important component of the innovative idea of the democratic essence itself of a broadcast like "Public Opinion."

UK Involved in New Soviet Magazine Launch

PM1107140888 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 27, 3 Jul 88 p 5

[Interview with OUR HERITAGE editor Vladimir Yenisherlov by Nataliya Gevorkyan: "'Our Heritage' Discovered in London. Why Cooperation Became Necessary"; date and place not given]

[Text] "OUR HERITAGE" is a new Soviet bimonthly magazine due out this July. The Soviet Culture Fund and the Maxwell Communication Corporation signed an agreement at the end of May to publish the magazine in London. "MN" met with the magazine's editor, Vladimir Yenisherlov.

[Gevorkyan] Why have the Soviet Culture Fund and the State Committee of the USSR for Publishing, Printing and Book Trade decided to publish the magazine in Britain?

[Yenisherlov] The idea is to produce a really fine cultural magazine, in both form and content. The inaugural issue will include some unpublished poems by Tsvetayeva, some of Andrei Bely's unpublished letters, some hitherto unknown documents from Chaadayev's archives, an article by art historian Dmitriy Likhachev, and material about the poet Nikolai Gumilyov. We will also be running a regular column on private art collections.

The magazine calls for lavish illustrations. And the sad fact is, our printing industry cannot undertake its own 160-page full-colour bimonthly—measuring up to modern standards—without detracting from the quality of its other publications. According to the estimates of specialists, printing the magazine here would cost more, even in terms of foreign currency, than it would in London.

[Gevorkyan] Does this mean that Maxwell undertake the entire technical side?

[Yenisherlov] Yes. They're offering to print it at their own expense, while we'll absorb the cost of the paper. The magazine is prepared in Moscow in its entirety, and then printed in London. And all 200,000 copies are earmarked for the Soviet Union.

[Gevorkyan] The deal is obviously profitable for us, but what's in it for Maxwell?

[Yenisherlov] The contract gives Maxwell the right to place ads in the magazine and use certain articles from it to produce two or three digests a year in the major European languages. It's obvious that in this sense the corporation doesn't consider the economic feasibility of the deal to be of primary importance. Robert Maxwell himself explained that he sees his considerable capital investment in the printing of the magazine as just another step in the cultural and business cooperation developing between his corporation and the Soviet Union.

Joint work on the first issue of OUR HERITAGE proved that our partners are not only highly competent and technically well equipped, but are also very friendly, honest and as interested in the success of the venture as we are.

UK Group Accused Over 'Subversive Material'

PM1207142988 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 9 Jul 88 p 2

[V. Kuznetsov article: "Dual-Purpose Souvenirs"]

[Text] Recently in Kiev and Donetsk leaflets appeared in the streets and in public conveniences. Their creators were not sparing in their gloomy portrayal of the events in Chernobyl and in spicing them with nationalist venom, and in order to veil the authorship they concealed themselves behind the signature of the "Perestroyka" Komsomol group at Kiev State University.

Radio Liberty reported this immediately, calling the leaflet extremely interesting. What could the residents of Kiev and Donetsk find so interesting to read in public conveniences?

The "appeal" to the "Ukrainian people" consisted in nothing more nor less than a demand for an "immediate and open revision of the defense system with the participation of the Komsomol and other social organizations," and abounded in demagogic arguments about the benefits of glasnost. But the outward appearance of approval for the changes taking place in the USSR conceals a crude distortion of their essence, and the sense

and aims of the CPSU and Soviet state policy. In addition, the authors want to sow national dissension, calling directly for extremist, anti-state actions.

Who are the authors of these leaflets? It has been established that they were prepared abroad by bourgeois Ukrainian nationalists cherished by Western special services. Last summer tourists from Britain Peter Ford and Louise Layniger were detained at Pulkovo Airport. Their baggage contained, besides anti-Soviet literature published abroad, 13 copies of the "appeals" which we already know about. The travelers claimed to have acquired them in their country and brought them to the Soviet Union as souvenirs (!)

It seems appropriate to talk about the person behind Mr Ford and Mrs Layniger. The person in question is a certain Taras Kuzyo. He is 30 years old. He is a British national who graduated from Harvard University. At present he is deputy editor of the magazine SOVIET UKRAINIAN AFFAIRS. But this, by the way, is only a front behind which an active member of the subversive foreign OUN (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists) operates.

The activity of "Pan Taras" is by no means limited only to the lands of his ancestors. He has had a hand in the transfer and circulation of subversive literature in Poland and Afghanistan. In London Kuzyo has established the closest of bonds with Polish reactionary emigres and Afghan counterrevolutionaries.

Judging by everything, "Pan Taras" is nothing more than the instrument of someone's will. And he has to work off by the sweat of his brow the money he receives from his bosses out of the special services' purse. Quite recently Cameron Taylor, a 23-year old British tourist, was detained in Kiev with a whole pile of hostile literature. He talked about the curious details of his unsuccessful trip to the USSR. About 6 months ago he met a man called John in a London pub. They talked over a pint of beer. When he found out that Taylor had already been to the Soviet Union and had no objection to going again, John suggested that he take some books there for his friends. Drunkenness and greed decided the affair—Taylor would be given a 200-pound advance for his labors as an "enlightener," and half this sum again awaited him after his successful return. In Lvov the young courier was to pass on the spiritual poison which he had brought in, together with an accompanying note, to representatives of the so-called UKRAINSKYY VISNIK, steered by Vyacheslav Chernovod, who has a conviction for anti-state activity. Material with Taras Kuzyo's autograph on some title pages was found among the unsuccessful smuggler's literary garbage...

Taras Kuzyo is earning his living in a shameful way. He is completely indifferent to the fate of his ancestors' home. But we must know who is trying to sow dissension between our peoples and why this is being done.

PRAVDA Notes KOMMUNIST No 10 Contents

PM1407161388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Jul 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Journal's Latest Issue"]

[Text] The 10th issue of KOMMUNIST, the CPSU Central Committee's theoretical and political journal, has been published.

It carries materials of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference: the report by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, "On the Course of Realizing the 27th CPSU Congress Decisions and the Tasks of Deepening Restructuring" and the conference resolutions "On Some Urgent Measures for the Practical Implementation of the Reform of the Country's Political System," "On the Course of Realizing the 27th CPSU Congress Decisions and the Tasks of Deepening Restructuring," "On the Democratization of Soviet Society and the Reform of the Political System," "On Combating Bureaucracy," "On Interethnic Relations," "On Glasnost," and "On Legal Reform." It carries Comrade M.S. Gorbachev's speech at the close of the conference.

Restructuring makes serious demands on the shaping of social character and on the social type of the individual. These important problems are dealt with in V. Yadov's article "Social Type of the Individual" carried in the section "Everything in the Individual—Everything for the Individual."

The rubric "Pages of History" is represented by the article "Communist International: Experience of Activity" by F. Firsov and K. Shirini. Here too a resume of Ye. Zubkova's article "1956, 1965: Lessons of Uncompleted Turnabouts," published in the journal VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS, is offered to readers.

The BCP National Conference was held in Sofia 28-29 January this year and adopted a scientifically substantiated program for the creation of a new model of socialism—a program which takes account of specific Bulgarian conditions. This is described in detail in G. Cherneyko's article "The BCP National Conference."

The issue carries critical and bibliographic materials and news items.

Agricultural

Agricultural Resolution at Conference Viewed

PM1307102588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 1

[Editorial "The 19th Party Conference as It Concerns the Food Problem"]

[Text] "It is necessary, above all, to achieve a substantial improvement in the country's food supplies. This is a most important sociopolitical question...." This is a quote from

the all-union party conference resolution which summed up the 4 days of discussion on the progress of the implementation of the 27th CPSU Congress decisions and ways of further deepening restructuring.

Why did the delegates discussing the task that will decide the country's destiny single out especially the food program from among all the questions which brook no delay? It seems that no detailed explanations are necessary. This is today the most sensive issue in the life of society, it is the most acute of all problems.

Much has been done to resolve it. However, the increase in the production of food that has been achieved, merely serves mainly to cover the needs connected with population growth. Neither morally, nor politically, do we have a right to tolerate this situation any longer. In order to fundamentally change the situation, new, considerably higher growth rates need to be achieved, a real breakthrough is necessary.

There has been no shortage in recent years of attempts to secure such a breakthrough. Let us recall. The Gosagroprom was set up, efforts were made to radically change the economic management mechanism, broad scope has been provided for the introduction everywhere of the lease contract and other effective forms of labor organization and incentives. Legal guarantees of the independence of labor collectives have been enshrined in new laws—the laws on the state enterprise and the cooperative movement.

It would appear that all problems have been taken care of, and kolkhozes and sovkhozes, rayons, oblasts, and republics have been granted far-reaching rights. All that is needed is work to produce more crop and livestock products. However, the desired results have failed to materialize. And what is more, frequently constructive decisions are coming up against a lack of understanding, efforts to delay their implementation, and all kinds of bureaucratic obstacles.

The conference exposed the reasons for this situation. They are common to all the sectors of the national economy, the only difference being that in the countryside they are more acute and visible. They include the expenditure-driven mechanism that has still not been totally dismantled, leveling and freeloading, the persisting imbalance in the mutual economic relations between the city and the countryside, and the continuing administration by injunction and petty tutelage that deprive the peasant of the possibility to make his own decisions on the land. Here is just one example which was cited at the conference. In 1986 the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers adopted a resolution on improving the economic mechanism of the agro-industrial complex. Subsequently ministries and departments "added" 34 (!) circulars to it which left little of substance intact of the original document.

Our time is a time of radical change. In order to discard once and for all everything that is connected with stagnation and to resolutely advance the cause of restructuring, the party has singled out a key question from among a multitude of complex problems: The current radical economic reform must be complemented by a no less radical reform of the political system of our state. This formulation of the task is essentially tantamount to the revival of the Leninist understanding of one of the fundamental questions of socialist building—the question of the correlation between politics and the economy. There is no, nor can there be any, successful restructuring of the country's political life without equivalent transformations in the economy and, vice-versa, changes in economic life are impossible without corresponding political change. In this context the swiftest possible complete implementation of all the propositions elaborated by the conference will act as a powerful accelerator of the country's socioeconomic development, an accelerator, among other things, of the solution of the food problem.

However, this does not mean that all we can do now is wait for the changes. Colossal potential for effective work already exists in the countryside. Wherever this potential is exploited, the results are evident. However, stagnation and even a drop in the production of many agricultural products have occurred in Vologda, Kurgan, and Yaroslavl Oblasts, the Kalmyk ASSR, Uzbekistan, Moldavia, and the Transcaucasian republics. The reasons lie mainly in the attitude to work, in incompetent leadership, and inability to work in the new way.

Take the lease contract, for instance. In Odessa Oblast, for example, there are today whole rayons where it is claimed that all the kolkhozes and sovkhozes are operating on the basis of the lease contract. However, on closer examination the organization of this work turns out to be purely formal: Essentially, what has happened is a mere relabeling of the former contract collectives (which in any case were not entirely worthy of their name) as lease collectives. And even where people have adopted a serious attitude to this matter, proper understanding of the essence of the lease contract is still lacking.

A few days ago the IZVESTIYA correspondent in Odessa recorded a coversation between G. Kolisnichenko, chairman of the Kominternskiy Rayon kolkhoz named for Shevchenko and A. Gorodishchenko, the leader of a lease link. The chairman could not understand the demands of the lease contract operators. "What do you want?," he asked perplexed.

"We want total independence," A. Gorodishchenko explained. "We want to be an independent cooperative. We want to have our own account in the bank."

"But you are leasing the land from the kolkhoz. And the machinery, and the seeds, and the fertilizers...."

"But we are paying for all of it, as laid down in the contract. Look, we sell you the grain at R7 per quintal and you sell it to the state at 9 rubles 50 kopecks, although in the kolkhoz the prime cost of a quintal of grain was never below R11. Is this not advantageous for you? We give you profit and you put spokes into our wheel."

"What spokes?"

"You want to take away our above-plan grain, for instance. Meanwhile we are already trying to fatten 20 bullocks and we want to set up a hog unit."

"It is not I who takes away your grain—it is a general rule. According to instructions, you must make 25 percent of your above-plan output available."

"Incidentally, the lease contract came into being without instructions and orders, as a result of initiative from below. And again there are attempts from all quarters to tie it hand and foot. Do people not understand that if the lease contract operators are not even allowed to dispose of their above-plan output as they see fit, there is not much future for this type of contract...."

This conversation is very indicative in all respects, as you can see. There is evidence of attempts to force the innovation into the old framework of restrictions. A framework which is to ensure that the nature of the mutual relations between the lease collective and the kolkhoz or sovkhoz and the land which it cultivates remains unchanged. Leaving intact also the administrative superstructure. Given this state of affairs, it is futile to expect major changes.

Meanwhile genuine lease collectives have demonstrated how abruptly and steeply output can rise, its quality improve, and prime cost be reduced. It is this experience, it was stated from the conference rostrum, which contains the answer to the main question: How long it will take the country to resolve the food problem.

To get people interested, to swiftly and properly organize the work of lease and contract collectives—this is the immediate duty of farm leaders and specialists. The conference demanded that all attempts to dictate to kolkhozes and sovkhozes be immediately stopped. It is the task of soviet and party organs to assist and support farms in the process of restructuring. Those who stand in the way and hamper progress, must be resolutely removed, as was also stressed at the kolkhoz congress.

The question of the social development of the countryside was raised as a matter of urgency at the conference. Both the report, and the speeches of a number of delegates spoke with pain of the incredible burden our countryside has had to bear and the privations which it has suffered and of the society's great debt to the inhabitants of the countryside. The time has come to repay this debt. Unprecedented measures to improve the social sphere in the countryside are being taken within the current 5-year plan. It is necessary to make sure now that all the additional capital investments and resources are assimilated and put to use. It is our sacred duty to give a boost to the countryside.

It was noted at the conference that measures to improve the transportation, storage, and processing of agricultural produce also merit no delay. Especially now when the crop harvest and feed procurement are gathering momentum. If we manage to preserve everything that we have grown, process it, and deliver it to people we will be able to increase food consumption by 20-30 percent on this account alone. In order to solve a range of problems in this area, the party and the government have drawn up a special program. A sum of R77 billion has been allocated for this purpose during the remaining years of the 12th 5-Year Plan and in the 13th 5-Year Plan. However, the implementation of the program is progressing extremely slowly.

The crux of the radical changes lies in our agrarian policy at the current stage. Its essence amounts to changing the production relations in the countryside itself and also restoring the economic balance between city and countryside. This will make it possible, through the development of various forms of contract and leasing, to comprehensively exploit the potential of kolkhozes and sovkhozes, overcome the peasants' alienation from the land, and change rural workers' living conditons.

As you can see, it is a precise and clear policy. It is now a matter of working persistently, and constantly monitoring the whole process of the implementation of the party conference directives aimed at boosting the agrarian sector of the economy. Only on this basis will we be able to enhance the efficiency of agro-industrial production and radically improve the Soviet people's food supplies.

Specialist Analyzes Feed Procurement Situation

PM1507102188 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 9 Jul 88 p 1

[Animal specialist M. Glinka article under the general heading "Let Us Harvest Without Incurring Losses!": "Particular Concern for Feed"]

[Text] "Above all there must be a significant improvement in the country's food supply." The fulfillment of this most important economic task put forward at the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference now depends particularly on the feed procurement workers, not only and not so much on the livestock unit workers. If in the first half of the year meat production increased by virtually 550,000 tonnes, milk production by 2.2 million tonnes, and egg production by more than 1 billion, and their sale to the state increased correspondingly by 5.6 and 4 percent [as published], this is a result primarily of a better supply of feed for livestock and poultry than in any of the recent years. Suffice it to say that by the

beginning of the last stalling period the country's kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and interfarm enterprises had 13.6 quintals of feed units per head of livestock compared with 12.1 in 1986 and 9.1 quintals in 1975.

Nevertheless, all that has been done is only the beginning. We are only starting to resolve the food problem, and the pace reached in developing livestock raising far from matches the population's effective demand for livestock units' output. Moreover, their productivity has dropped in a number of places. In the first half of the year there was a decrease in the sale of meat in the Ukraine, Moldavia, and Estonia, a number of RSFSR oblasts, and Kazakhstan, and in milk yield and milk production in Armenia, the Udmurt and Tuva ASSRS, and Arkhangelsk, Vologda, Kirov, Chelyabinsk, Guryev, North Kazakhstan, and some other oblasts.

To guarantee a steady growth in milk and meat production, a minimum of 15-20 percent more than last year's feed must be laid in this year. There are good prerequisites for this: In many places grasses are developing quite well, sowing has been carried out in time, and the feed crop area has been expanded, storage facilities for various kinds of forage have been built, and machine operators' interest in their procurement has increased. So the pace of this work causes that much greater concern. According to estimates made by the USSR State Committee for Statistics, by 4 July in all 24.2 million tonnes of feed units had been laid in—2.78 quintals per head of livestock. For comparison let me recall that last year by this time 2.83 quintals of feed units had been procured on the same basis of calculation.

This is the situation for specific feed reserves in the union republics (the first figure represents quintals of feed units, the second is a comparison in percentage terms with last year): RSFSR—1.84 and 97; Ukraine—2.95 and 109; Belorussia—4.04 and 82; Uzbekistan—5.16 and 88; Kazakhstan—8.07 and 88; Georgia—3.22 and 97; Azerbaijan—7.60 and 118; Lithuania—9.14 and 118; Moldavia—3.86 and 117; Latvia—4.31 and 117; Kirghizia—3.76 and 91; Tajikistan—5.37 and 94; Armenia—1.88 and 76; Turkmenia—4.21 and 100; Estonia—4.27 and 135. Let me also mention the regions in the RSFSR which have procured in their economic regions the least amount of feed per head of livestock. In the Northern Region this means Arkhangelsk Oblast and Komi ASSR—0.2 quintals each of feed units; in the Northwest Region, Pskov Oblast—2.2; in the Central Region, Orel and Ryazan Oblasts—1.5; in the Volga-Vyatka Region, Mordovia—0.9; in the central Chernozem region, Kursk Oblast—1.5 quintals.

In the Volga region Kuybyshev Oblast "excelled," only procuring 1.3 quintals of feed units per head, in the North Caucasus the Kabardino-Balkar ASSR (2.2) and Rostov Oblast (2.9) laid in the least amount of forage. On the Don the grain harvest is beginning, and ensuring a rapid pace in haymaking will now be twice as difficult. More difficult, but it has to be done, otherwise the reasonable position that has been gained by the Don livestock breeders could be lost.

And finally the Urals region. Bashkiria was one of the laggards—1.1 quintals of feed units per head. As for Siberia and the Far East, there the haymaking is only just getting going, but it is already clear that in a number of places, particularly in Novosibirsk and Kemerovo Oblasts, they are not keeping up to schedule. Meanwhile, it was precisely late mowing and bringing in grass past its prime which, together with violations of procedures, constituted the main reasons for the low-quality feed in many of the country's regions. For these reasons in the same Novosibirsk Oblast last year one-third of the hay and three-fourths of the haylage were third class or of too poor quality to be graded, and had to be written off. Poor-quality feed was procured in Smolensk, Kirov, Perm, and Amur Oblasts, Khabarovsk Kray, and Moldavia and Georgia.

Information from local sources shows that a tense situation in the procurement of feed for public and private sector livestock has developed on many kolkhozes and sovkhozes. It is essential in these conditions to concentrate all energy on harvesting grasses and other feed crops and to utilize all reserves to replenish the forage supplies. It is important to complete the first hay cutting as rapidly as possible in order to get another harvest of grasses, organize the tending of row feed crops, make extensive use of repeat sowings, and record and safely store all last year's supplies. In a word, things need to be organized in such a way as to harvest everything that has been grown and deal sensibly with the feed that has been procured. Kolkhoz and sovkhoz workers are now resolving this package of complex tasks. In the specific situation of the present summer many places cannot manage without the assistance of city dwellers. In this connection the system whereby city dwellers who go out to help with the harvest retain their normal wages has been extended for the current year.

The creation of solid supplies of wholesome feed is now of priority importance in the work of party, soviet, and economic organs; and an appreciable improvement in the supply of livestock unit output to the inhabitants of cities and villages in the current year is the main criterion of this work.

Statistics Office Reports on Harvesting

LD1607092988 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0204 GMT 14 Jul 88

[Text] The USSR State Committee for Statistics reports that reaping of grain has begun on the farms of 12 union republics. Tens of thousands of harvesting machines are at work in the fields. Many elevators and reception points have gone over to 24 hour-a-day working.

Harvesting continues on the feed fields. By 11 July grasses had been cleared from almost 42 million hectares. Kolkhozes and sovkhozes have laid in over 33.5 million tonnes of hay and almost 41 million tonnes of haylage. Collectives of contract, lease, and family units are working in the most organized way.

Early Jul Weather, Crop Status Reported

PM1607151988 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 15 Jul 88 p 3

[Agrometeorologist Kh. Tebuyev report: "Weather and Crops"]

[Text] Hot weather with torrential rain was to be observed on the USSR's European territory for most of the past 10-day period. Winter grain crops in Moldavia, the southern half of the Ukraine, the North Caucasus, and the Lower Volga Region have attained full ripeness. They are being harvested. Harvesting conditions are mainly satisfactory. The waxy ripeness stage was to be observed on winter wheat and rye over the rest of the Ukraine, in the south of Belorussia, in the central Chernozem region, in the southeast half of the Central Region, in the Volga Region (south of Gorkiy), and in the Urals (south of the line linking Ufa and Chelyabinsk). The grain was swelling in more northerly regions. The northern limit of the onset of milky ripeness in barley roughly followed a line linking Tallinn, Bryansk, Kalinin, Vologda, Izhevsk, Kuybyshev, and Orenburg. Further south, barley has attained waxy and full ripeness. Spring wheat was also continuing to form ears and to flower.

Corn in southern regions has begun heading of panicles. Potatoes are finishing flowering. As of 10 July, the weight of tubers per bush was 160-230 grams, while over the rest of the European territory flowering is continuing and tubers are forming and growing. Sugar beet roots are growing, and their weight exceeds the perennial average. Flax has attained green ripeness at a plant height of 85-95 cm. Sunflowers have started flowering in the south of the country. Perennial grasses are growing up again everywhere after the first cuttings and, in a number of places, after the second. In their development almost all agricultural crops are 1.5-2 weeks ahead of the perennial average times. There are adequate reserves of moisture.

In the agricultural zone of West Siberia, particularly in Tyumen and Omsk Oblasts, and also in the northern half of Kazakhstan hot and—for most of the period—dry weather predominated. It was cool in East Siberia and the Transbaykal region. Some 45-85 mm of precipitation occurred there, with 90-105 mm in places in the Transbaykal region, which is 1.5-3 times and in places 4 times more than the norm for the 10-day period.

In the Far East there was unstable weather with torrential rain. The average air temperature during the 10-day period was close to the perennial average. In Krasnoyarsk Kray and Irkutsk Oblast winter rye is forming ears and flowering, milky ripeness has been observed on winter crops in West Siberia, with waxy ripeness on rye in the south of Altay Kray, and it has flowered in the subtaiga zone. Ear formation has been noted on early spring grain crops in the agricultural regions of West Siberia and the northern half of Kazakhstan.

Reserves of productive moisture in the soil in the majority of West Siberian steppe regions and over the greater part of the northern half of Kazakhstan are inadequate.

In the Transcaucasian republics the average air temperature was close to the perennial average, while in the east of Azerbaijan it was 2-3 degrees above the perennial average. It was hot and dry in the Central Asian republics and the southern oblasts of Kazakhstan.

Kuban Farmers Salvage Storm-Hit Grain

PM1807135988 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 15 Jul 88 Second Edition p 1

[Own correspondent V. Udachin report: "Salvaging Grain. Difficult Harvest in the Kuban"]

[Excerpts] Krasnodar Kray—The caprices of this year's weather are news to no one. But this is the first time in 8 years' work in the Kuban that I have seen such raging elements. I would not have believed it if I had not seen it myself. I once found myself in a winter-sown field near Armavir. In the twinkling of an eye the heavens opened, a solid wall of water rained down, large hailstones fell, and some 10 minutes later the wheatfield which had gladdened the eye with its swelling ears had, as it were, been mown clean. And how many such thunderstorms passed over the Kuban in June and July! Downpours, squalls, and hail caused a lot of damage. Some 330,000 hectares of crops ended up under water, and crops perished on 100,000 hectares. Farms in Kurganinskiy, Dinskiy, Labinskiy, and Mostovskiy Rayons and the Adyge Autonomous Oblast suffered in particular. But the elements are not abating. There were downpours almost everywhere on the night of Tuesday-Wednesday, up to 50 mm of precipitation occurred in Kurganinskiy and Pavlovskiy Rayons, and hail fell once again in Labinskiy Rayon, while in Tbilisskiy Rayon sunflower and corn, which had already grown as tall as a man, were laid low (did you ever see such a thing!). So the once common newspaper cliches oft ridiculed by satirists—"under difficult weather conditions" and "the battle for grain"—today have the right to life. At any rate, Kuban farmers are waging a real battle for grain under just such conditions. [passage omitted]

The weather dictates strategy and tactics. Where ordinary reapers and grain combines cannot go, some 200 rice reapers and 300 caterpillar-tracked combines are working, having been promptly transferred from the Kuban's rice-growing regions. And where they cannot go, scythes and sickles are being used. On certain farms in Kurganinskiy, Labinskiy, and Mostovskiy Rayons grain is literally being removed by hand from flooded fields.

Over large areas the wheat has lodged—in 80 percent of the fields in individual rayons—and so machine operators and specialists have quite rightly given preference to direct combining. All combines are equipped with grain lifters and are reaping in one direction, avoiding losses. A unique maneuver has been undertaken with "Don-1500's." This year 1,284 of them are working in the kray, 4 times as many as last year. Let us pay tribute to these machines. They show their best side precisely under extreme conditions. The "Don" copes well with lodged, weed-ridden, and damp grain crops.

But machine operators have many complaints against "Rostselmash." Despite its great throughput, the combine cannot cope with separating grain from the tailings [ochistka zerna ot vorokha]. As a result, it has to slow down, and productivity falls. And reliability remains low. There is, for example, an assembly known as the reaper oscillating disk mechanism. It has become a veritable "gordian knot." Because of it 130 combines and 1 "Don" in every 10 are standing idle. They could harvest 3,250 hectares a day and thresh 13,000 tonnes of grain. Literally every hour is dear, the wheat is "flowing" in the rain before our eyes, and the grain is losing its precious qualities. What is to be done? Couriers rushed off to the combine plant in Tula, but there they were allocated...five needle roller bearings.

Incidentally, the practice of this year's harvest shows that "Dons" manufactured last year work more reliably than those that have arrived on farms this year. Machine operators have not had time to iron out [dovesti] any imperfections in them, and the quality of plant assembly gives rise to serious complaints, and so these "new arrival" go out of commission more frequently. There is a real fear that the "Dons" will be left without a job after the harvest. They are fully supplied only with attachments for harvesting hulled crops. The need for attachments for harvesting corn cobs has been met by only one-third, and just 100 attachments for threshing sunflowers are promised instead of the 500 ordered, and no one knows when they will arrive. Without these attachments the powerful, expensive machine becomes too much of a liability for farms.

The difficult harvest in the Kuban is reaching its zenith. Grain crops have been threshed on 700,000 hectares. The average yield of barley and wheat is 40 quintals, and it is higher in Timashevskiy, Kurganinskiy, and Leningradskiy Rayons. All drying capacities have been commissioned. Despite the difficulties, grain is being painstakingly "brought up" to top condition on the threshing floors. Of the 300,000 tonnes of wheat sold to the state 270,000 tonnes is strong and valuable. Sales of high-quality grain are increasing. Grain is continuing to be salvaged.

Scientific

'Cosmos-1959' Satellite Launched 19 Jul

LD1907080288 Moscow TASS in English 0759 GMT 19 July 88

[Text] Moscow July 19 TASS—An artificial earth satellite, "Cosmos-1959", was put in orbit by a Cosmos carrier rocket in the Soviet Union today.

The sputnik carries scientific equipment designed to continue the programme of space exploration.

The sputnik was put into an orbit with the following parameters:

The initial period of revolution—104.8 minutes,

The maximum distance from the surface of the earth (in apogee)—1,019 kilometres,

The minimum distance from the surface of the earth (in perigee)—975 kilometres,

The inclination of the orbit—83 degrees.

Apart from scientific equipment the sputnik also has aboard a radio system for precise measurement of the elements of the orbit and a radio telemetric system to transmit back to earth data on the operation of the instruments and scientific equipment.

The equipment aboard the sputnik is functioning normally.

The coordination and computing centre is processing the incoming information.

'Progress-37' 'Automated Cargo Craft' Launched

LD1907003388 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0011 GMT 19 Jul 88

[Text] [No dateline as received] In accordance with the program for further work of the "Mir" research complex, the "Progress-37" automated cargo craft was launched in the Soviet Union on 19 July 1988 at 0113 Moscow time.

The craft was launched with the purpose of delivering expendable materials and various types of cargo onboard the "Mir" manned complex.

The "Progress-37" craft has been placed in an orbit with the following parameters:

- Apogee, 273 km;

- Perigee, 194 km;

- Period of revolution, - 88.8 minutes;

- Orbital inclination - 51.6 degrees.

According to telemetric information, the systems aboard the automated cargo craft are working normally.

Satellite Launch Attracts Commercial Interest

PM1807150588 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 6

[Special correspondent A. Ivakhnov article: "Why Businessmen Came To Baykonur"]

[Text] Now both the "Phobos" interplanetary stations are speeding along the Earth-Mars route. The second space robot was launched on the evening of 12 July, by which time the first had already covered more than 1 million kilometers.

Their flights are being controlled from a new flight control center room designed for working with future spacecraft. When "Phobos-2" was launched, the visitors' balcony in the room was packed—so many Soviet and foreign scientists, space technology specialists, and journalists had gathered there. We saw off "Phobos-1" at Baykonur with many of them several days ago. Today there are new guests, representatives of foreign insurance companies, on the space center's observation platform.

"Early last year," S. Bogodyazh, chief of the USSR Main Administration for the Creation and Utilization of Space Technology International Ties Department, explained, "our organization stated its readiness for broad cooperation with foreign partners on a commercial basis. The forms of this cooperation can be most varied. Under contracts with firms and national or international organizations, we can train and launch cosmonauts, put satellites into orbit, lease out our spacecraft, and so on."

This announcement met with great attention abroad. In particular, Prof Art Dyul [name as published], a lawyer from Houston, volunteered to be the USSR Main Administration for the Creation and Utilization of Space Technology's trading representative in the United States and promote bridge-building between us and U.S. firms. According to one U.S. newspaper, leading U.S. companies—General Electric and Hughes Aircraft—believe that it is not such a bad idea to launch communications satellites into space using Soviet rockets. J. Oberg, an engineer who took part in the implementation of the space shuttle program and an authoritative specialist on Soviet space programs who is often approached for consultations, said: "People from the USSR Main Administration for the Creation and Utilization of Space Technology evoke confidence among launch vehicle construction experts since they tell the truth about what is good and what is bad about their rockets." Trust is evoked by the fact that—as a U.S. newspaper said—the "Soviets have offered to open the Baykonur space center to any engineers and specialists that any company may wish to send there to observe the launch preparations and verify that the Soviets don't use for their own ends the technological secrets contained in the commercial payloads to be launched."

And now insurance company representatives have also shown interest in our proposal. On the morning of 12 July, J. Barrett, vice president of the U.S. "Intech" Company, G. Howe, vice president of Britain's "Crowley Warren and Company," B. Paganelli, director of Italy's Assicurazioni Generali, and H. Hesse, director of the FRG's "Munich Reinsurance Society" flew to Baykonur accompanied by USSR Main Administration for the Creation and Utilization of Space Technology and Foreign Insurance Administration personnel.

What was the purpose of their visit? I asked A. Agapov, deputy chief of the Marine and Aviation Insurance Department of a USSR Foreign Insurance Administration joint-stock insurance company, to answer this question.

"Western firms," Aleksandr Fedorovich said, "are showing particular interest in the 'Proton' booster rocket, which can put heavy satellites into space. Resolving questions of insurance for the payloads placed in orbit, which is what we do, is an important aspect of organizing the launches. Where necessary, when it is a question of considerable insurance sums, the Foreign Insurance Administration enlists the cooperation of leading foreign companies in insuring space flights. Our partners definitely benefit as a result of successful launches, and if something unforeseen happens they will share the loss with us.

"The representatives of these companies flew to Moscow on 11 June, and we had a preliminary meeting with them. We believe that our foreign colleagues will receive answers to all the questions interesting them at the space center. There they will see the 'Proton' launch and will be familiarized with the organization of payload launches using this rocket. The talks will continue after their return to the capital. We think that the trip to Baykonur will help businessmen draw the correct conclusions and create favorable conditions for enlisting their firms in participation in our commercial launch insurance program. This in turn will strengthen Western partners' confidence in the proposals from the USSR Main Administration for the Creation and Utilization of Space Technology."

At the flight control center, I talked with G. Rogovskiy, deputy director of the G.N. Babakin Research Center. Every night, starting at 2200 hours, the scientists reported, our tracking stations obtain information from on board "Phobos-1." The results of analysis show that "Proton" placed the station on its space trajectory with great accuracy, so less thrust than expected will be needed for the adjustment planned for 16 July. All the station's systems are working well.

...The time was 2101 hours and 48 seconds precisely. On the huge screen, you could see a mighty rocket taking "Phobos-2" up into the sky. A few minutes later applause was heard from the loudspeakers, and we saw the smiling faces of the visitors to the space launch

facility. The "Proton" booster rocket had once again risen to the occasion—both in the literal and in the figurative sense of the words.

Activities of 'Mir' Cosmonauts Updated

LD1607022788 Moscow in English to North America 2200 GMT 14 Jul 88

[Excerpts] [Announcer] The launching of the two Soviet unmanned Phobos spacecraft has tended to divert attention somehwat from Cosmonauts Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov, who have now been working aboard the "Mir" orbital research station for over 200 days. So here's our science correspondent Boris Belitskiy to bring us up to date on what they've been doing in earth orbit lately.

[Belitskiy] Astrophysicists take the view that the most sensational results obtained by the crew come from the astrophysical module Kvant, which is attached to the "Mir" station. They think very highly of the crew's observations of the supernova in the Larger Megallanic Cloud. On the other hand, experts in materials processing in space have bigh praise for the extremely pure crystals That titov and Manarov have obtained in their installation called Kristall. The crystals are for use in radio electronics.

Meanwhile, experts in agriculture and geology expect the space imagery of Soviet territory from a vantage point more than 300 km high to be of considerable benefit to the national economy. A big research program was carried out by Titov and Manarov together with the visiting Soviet-Bulgarian crew, which spent 8 days aboard the station last month. [passage omitted] The 42 experiments performed by the 5 cosmonauts jointly were marked by a high degree of professionalism, according to the experts. The results of these experiments returned to earth with the joint crew and are now being studied by scientists in the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, and other socialist countries. [passage omitted]

To Undergo Medical Exams

LD1507155388 Moscow TASS in English 1140 GMT 15 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 15 TASS—TASS reports from the Flight Control Centre:

Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov have been working in space for 207 days.

Under the programme of space astronomy investigations, the cosmonauts carried out on July 13 and 14 several series of experiments with the Glasar Ultraviolet telescope. They made snapshots of individual areas of the stellar sky near Alpha Lupus and Alpha Aquila.

The present-day schedule of the manned complex Mir provides for astrophysical investigations with X-ray telescopes of the Kvant Module, as well as experiments for studying further the earth's ionosphere and magnetosphere.

During the day the crew will undergo a medical checkup whose aim is to assess the functional state of the cosmonauts' cardio-vascular systems under the conditions of a long orbital mission.

Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov feel well.